AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PERSECUTIONS

AND

OPPRESSIONS

OF THE

Protestants

IN

FRANCE.

London, Printed for *J. Norris.* 1686.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

EXPEDITIONS

AND

OPERATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH

IN

FRANCE

An exact account of the Cruel Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of the French Proteſtants.

THE Cruelties exercis'd of late on the Proteſtants in *France*, do appear ſo deteſtable to all, who have not diveſted themſelves of Humanity, that no wonder the Authors of them uſe their utmoſt endeavours to leſſen what they cannot conceal. Were not this worſe than barbarous uſage, a project of a long contrivance, a Man might for Charity's ſake, ſuppoſe this their palliating it, to be an acknowledgment of their own diſpleaſure at it. However, their boldneſs is inexcuſable, who ſhall endeavour to impoſe on the World in matters known; not by *Gazetts*, and News-letters, but by an infinite number of Fugitives of all *Conditions*, who have nothing left but Tears and Miſeries to bring along with them into foreign Nations. 'Tis certainly too barbarous to oppreſs innocent People in their own Countrey; and afterwards to ſtifle their complaints in other places where they are driven; and by this means deprive them of a compaſſion which the bare inſtincts of nature never refuſe to the miſerable. Yet this is the courſe our perſecutors of *France* have held; their cruelty muſt be attended with Impoſtures, tha the miſchiefs which they have acted may paſs undiſcovered.

I think we ſhould be much to blame, if we ſuffer them to go on in this ſecond deſign, as they have done in the firſt; and therefore we ſhall chooſe ſome principal inſtances, whereon we ſhall make ſuch reflections, as thereby to judge with greater evidence and exactneſs on the whole proceeding. And as we ſhall offer nothing but what ſhall be perfectly true; ſo we ſhall advance nothing in our reflections, but what all the world of reaſonable people will allow.

To begin with matters of Fact: There's no body but knows, that a while after his present Majesty of *France* came to the Crown, there arose in the Kingdom a Civil War; which proved so sharp and desperate, as brought the State within an hairs breadth of utter ruine. 'Tis also known, that in the midst of all these troubles, those of the Reformed Religion kept their Loyalty in so inviolable a manner, and attended it with such a Zeal and extraordinary fervour, that the King found himself obliged to give publick marks of it, by a Declaration made at St. *Germains*, in the year 1652. Then as well at Court, as in the Field, each strove to proclaim loudest the deserts of the Reformists; and the Queen Mother her self readily acknowledged, That they had preserved the State: This is known by all, but 'twill hardly be believed, though it be too true, what our Enemies themselves an hundred times told us; and which the sequel has but too shrewdly confirmed, that this was precisely the principal and most essential cause of our ruine; and of all the mischiefs which we have since suffered. Endeavours were used to envenom all these important Services in the Kings and his Ministers minds, by perswading them, that if in this occasion, this party could conserve the State; this shewed, they could likewise overthrow it, should they have ranked themselves on the other side; and might still do it, when such alike occasion should offer it self. That therefore this party must be suppressed, and the good they have done no longer regarded; but as an indication of the mischief, which they may one day be capable of doing. This Diabolical reasoning, *which hinders Subjects from serving their Prince*, to avoid drawing on themselves chastisements, instead of recompences, was relish'd as a piece of most refined Policy. For as soon as the Kingdom was settled in Peace, the design was advanced of destroying the Reformists; and the better to make them comprehend that their Zeal had ruined them, the Cities which had shewed most of it, were first begun with. Immediately then, on slight pretences, they fell on *Rochel*, *Montauban*, and *Milan*; three Towns, where those of the Reformed Religion had most signalized themselves for the interests of the Court; *Rochel* underwent an infinite number of prescriptions, *Montauban* and *Milan* were sackt by the Soldiers. But these being but particular stroaks and meer preludes, which decided nothing, they tarried not long before they made appear the great

and

and general Machius; they were to use in the carrying on of their intended design to the last extremity. 'Twill be a difficult matter to give an exact account of these several methods: For never humane malice produced such multiplicity of them; every day brought forth new ones for twenty years together. To take only notice of the chief of them; which were, First, Law Suits in Courts of Justice. Secondly, Deprivations from all kinds of Offices and Employs; and in general, of all ways of subsistance. Thirdly, The infraction of Edicts, under the notion of Explications of them. Fourthly, New Laws and Orders. Fifthly, Juggles and amusing Tricks. Sixthly, The animating of People, and inspiring them with hatred against us. These are the most considerable means, which the persecuters have employed to attain their ends, during several years; I say, during several years; for what they designed, being no easie matter, they needed therefore time, to order their Engins, not to take notice of their Traverses and Interruptions by forrain Wars; yet whose success have not a little contributed to encrease their Courage, and confirm them in the design which they had against us.

The first of these means has had an infinite extent. We should begin with the recital of all the Condemnations of Churches, or suppressions of exercises of Religion, and all the other vexations which have hapned by the establishing of Commissaries; this was a Snare dexterously laid immediately after the Treaty of the *Picenees*, the King under pretence of repairing the Edict of *Nants*, sent them in the Provinces. The Roman Catholic Commissary was every where his Majesties Intendant; who was besure a fit man for the purpose, armed with the Royal Authority, and who was well instructed in the secret Aim. The other, was either some hungry Officer, a Slave to the Court, or some poor Gentleman, who had usually neither Intelligence requisite in these sort of Affairs, nor the liberty of speaking his Sentiments. The Clergy had set them up; He was their Ambulatory Spirit. The Syndicks were received before them as formal parties in all our Affairs; the assignations were given in their name, the Prosecutions also; and as well the Discords of the Commissaries, as the Appeals from their Ordinances, must be finally decided in the Kings Council.

Thus in general, all the rights of the Churches, for the exercises of Religion, the burying places, and all such dependancies, were cal-

led into a review, and consequently exposed to the fresh pursuits of the Clergy, and the ill intention of the Judges. In which there was not the least dram of Equity; for the Edict having bin once executed, according to the intention of him that made it, there needed no second touches; it being moreover, wholly unlikely those of the reformed Religion, who had bin ever in the Kingdom the suffering party, could usurp any thing therein; and extend its limits beyond what belong'd to them. But there were other designs in hand than the providing against the Contraventions, and therefore by this order, the greatest part of the Churches cited for the justifying of their Rights, saw themselves soon condemned one after another, by Decrees of Council, how good and sufficient soever their Titles and Defences were. Scarcely passed a Week, wherein these kind of Decrees were not made; and if it hapned, that the Modesty of the Judges saved any of them, by the great evidence of their Right, as this sometimes hapned; besides that, the number was small, in comparison of those condemned, the Judges often received order to condemn them, when they shewed they could not in Conscience do it.

But the Oppressions of this kind, did not terminate in the bare condemnation of Churches; for particular Persons had their part. In ordinary and civil Affairs, where the matter concerned a piece of Land, perhaps, a House, a Debt between a Roman Catholick and a Person of our Religion; Religion was to be sure always one of the chief Heads of the Accusation; The Monks, the Emissaries, the Confessors, and all the whole Tribe of that Crew, interessed themselves in the Affair. In Courts of Justice, all the cry was, *I plead against an Heretick, I have to do with a Man of a Religion odious to the State; and which the King would have extirpated.* By this means, there was no longer any Justice to be expected, few Judges were proof against this false Zeal, for fear of drawing the Fury of the whole Cabal against him, or passing for a favourer of Hereticks. 'Tis not to be imagined how many unjust Sentences these sort of Prejudices have given, in all the Courts of the Kingdom; and how many mens Families have bin ruined by them: When any one complained, the Answer was ready, *You have the remedy in your own hands; why do you not turn Catholick.*

Yet all this had bin nothing, had the Persecution kept here, and

and not proceeded to faſten on the Reputation, the Liberty, and even the very Lives of Perſons, by a general inundation (as a man may term it) of criminal Proceſſes. Writings were Printed at *Paris*, and ſent from thence to all Cities and Pariſhes of the Kingdom, which impowred the Curates, Churchwardens and others, to make an exact enquiry into whatſoever the pretended Reformiſts might have done, or ſaid for twenty years paſt, as well on the ſubject of Religion as otherwiſe, to make Information of this before the Juſtices of the Place; and puniſh them without remiſſion. So have we ſeen for ſeveral years, in execution of theſe Orders, the Priſons every where fill'd with theſe kind of Criminals; neither were falſe Witneſſes lacking; and that which was moſt horrible, was, that though the Judges were convinced they were Knights of the Poſt, yet they maintained them, and carry'd them throw ſuch Points, as they knew to be untrue. They condemned innocent and vertuous Perſons to be whipt, to the Gallies, to baniſhment and publick Penances. And if a Spark of Honor or Conſcience, at any time hindred them, yet there was always at leaſt an impunity for the falſe Witneſs.

This kind of Perſecution fell chiefly on the Miniſters; for of a long time they might not Preach, without having for Auditors, or to ſpeak better, Obſervators, a Troop of Prieſts, Monks and Miſſionaries, and ſuch kind of People, who made no ſcruple to charge them with things, which they not ſo much as thought of; and turn others into a contrary meaning. They alſo went ſo far as to devine the Thoughts, to make Crimes; for as ſoon as ever any Miniſter ſpake of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh*, the *Iſraelites*, of good or bad People, (as 'tis difficult not to ſpeak of theſe matters, when they explained the Scripture) Theſe Spies never failed to report, that by *Egypt*, and the wicked, they meant the Catholicks, and by the *Iſraelites*, the pretended Reformiſts. The Judges concerned themſelves in this, and what is moſt ſtrange, the miniſters of State themſelves reſpected theſe Interpretations of thoughts, as evident Proofs: On theſe grounds, the Magiſtrates filled the Priſons whith theſe kind of poor People, keeping them therein for whole years together, and often inflicted on them ſeveral corporal Penalties.

'Tis already ſeen by this firſt kind of Perſecution, what were the Uſages ſhewed in *France* to the Reformiſts before they came to the utmoſt violence. But we ſhall ſee them appear more, in what we have to add, touching the privation of Offices and Employs,

ploys, and in general, of the means of gaining a Livelihood; which is the second way we mentioned, that has been used to effect our Ruine. 'Tis not hard to comprehend, that in a great Kingdom, as *France* is, where the Protestants were dispersed over all parts, there were an infinite number, who could not subsist nor maintain their Families, but by the liberty of serving the publick, either in Offices, Arts, Trades, or Faculties, each according to his Calling. *Henry* the great, was so well convinced of the necessity and justice of this, that he made it an express Article, the most distinct perhaps and formal, of all contained in his Edict: And therefore 'twas here the Persecutors thought themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavours. In this regard, they began with the Arts and Trades; which under several pretences, they rendered almost inaccessible to the Protestants by the difficulties of arriving to the mastership of them, and by the excessive Expences, they must be at to be received therein, there being no candidate, but was forced for this purpose to maintain Law Suits, under the weight of which, they for the most part fell, not being able to hold them out. But this not being sufficient, by a Declaration made in 1669. they were reduced to one third, in the Towns where the Protestants were more in number than the other Inhabitants; and they were forbidden to receive any therein till this diminution was made, which at one stroke excluded all the pretenders.

Some time after they absolutely drove all the Reformists from the Consulships, and all other Municipal Officers of the Cities, which, was in effect the depriving them of the Knowledg of their Proper Affairs, and Interests, to invest wholly the Catholics with them.

In 1680. the King issued out an Order, which deprived them in general of all kind of Offices and Employs, from the greatest to the smallest: They were made incapable so much as to exercise any Employ in the Custom-Houses, Guard, Treasury, or Post-Offices; to be Messengers, Coach-Men, or Waggoners, or any thing of this nature.

In the year 1681. by a Decree of Council, all Notaries, Attorneys, Solicitors, and Sergeants, making Profession of the Reformed Religion, were rendered uncapable throughout all the Kingdom. A Year after, all Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion were ordered to discharge their Officers and Servants

vants of the ſaid Religion, and not make uſe of them in any caſe, without other reaſon than that of their Religion.

In 1683. all Officers belonging to the Kings Houſhold, and thoſe of the Princes of the Blood, were alſo rendred uncapable of holding their Places. The Counſellors and other Officers of *Ayds*, and Chambers of accounts, and thoſe of Seneſchalſhip, Bailywicks, and Royalties, Admiralty, Provoſtſhips, and Marſhal's Courts, Treaſury Exciſe, and others, who belonged to the Toll-Offices, and ſuch like buſineſſes, were ordered to leave their Places in favour of the Catholicks.

In 1684. all Secretaries belonging to the King and Great Officers of *France*, as well Titulary, as Honorary ones, and their Widows, were deprived by a Revocation of all their Priviledges of what nature ſoever they were. They alſo deprived all thoſe that had purchaſed any Priviledges for the exerciſing of any Profeſſions, as Merchants, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Vintners, and all others, without exception.

Nay, they proceeded to this exceſs, that they would not ſuffer any Midwives of the Reformed Religion to do their Office, and expreſly ordained for the future, our Wives ſhould receive no aſſiſtance in that Condition, but from *Roman* Catholicks. 'Tis not to be expreſt how many particular Perſons and Families they reduced every where, by theſe ſtrange and unheard of Methods, to Ruine and Miſery. But becauſe there were yet many which could ſuſtain themſelves; other Methods of Oppreſſion muſt be invented: To this end they iſſued out an Edict from the Council, by which the new Converts, as they call them, were diſcharged from any payments of their Debts for three years. This, for the moſt part, fell on the Reformiſts, who, having had a more particular Tye of Intereſt and Affair with theſe pretended Converts, becauſe of their Communion of Religion, were reckoned amongſt their Chief Creditors: By this Order they had found the ſecret to recompenſe thoſe that changed, at the charge of thoſe who continued firm: and this they did likewiſe by another way; for they diſcharged the Converts of all the Debts, which thoſe of the Religion had contracted in common, which by conſequence fell on the reſt. Add to this, the prohibition to ſell or alienate their Eſtates, on any Pretence whatever, the King annulling and breaking all Contracts, and other acts relating to that matter: if it did not appear, that after theſe Acts, they had ſtayed in the

King-

Kingdom a whole Year: so that the last Remedy of helping themselves with their Estates in extream Necessity, was taken from them. They deprived them likewise of another, which seemed the only one remaining, which was, to seek their Bread elsewhere, by retiring into other Countries, there to get their Living by Labour, since this was not permitted them in *France*. By repeated Edicts the King forbad them to leave his Kingdom, on severe Penalties, which drove them to the last Despair; since they saw themselves reduced to the horrible necessity of dying with Hunger in their own Countrey, without daring to go to live elsewhere. But the Cruelty of their Enemies stopt not here, for there yet remained some Gleanings in the Provinces, though very few, and as thin as those in *Pharaoh*'s Dream. The Intendants in their Districts had order to load the Reformed with Taxes, which they did, either by laying upon them the Tax of the New Catholicks, who were discharged thereof on favour of their Conversion, or by laying exorbitant Taxes, which they called Duties, that is to say, he who in the ordinary Roll was assessed at Forty or Fifty Livers, was charged by this Imposition at Seven or Eight Hundred. This had they nothing more left, for all was a Prey to the Rigour of the Intendants. They raised their Taxes by the effectual quattering of Dragoons, or Imprisonment, from whence they were not freed till they had paid the utmost Farthing.

These were the two first Engins or Machins which the Clergy made use of against us: To which they added a Third, which we have termed the Infractions of the Edict of *Nantes*, under pretence of Explication. Those who would know their Number and Quality, need only read the Books written and published on this Subject; as well by the Jesuite *Menier*, an Author Famous for his Illusions, as by one *Beauvais*, an Officer in the Presidial Court of *Besier* in *Languedoc*. There you will find all the turns, which the meanest and most unworthy Sophistry could invent, to elude the clearest Texts of the Edict, and to corrupt the Sincerity thereof. But because we do here give you only a brief Account of our Troubles, we will content our selves with observing some of the Principal, issuing from this Fountain. What was there, for Example, more clear and unquestionable in the Edict than this; *viz.* That 'twas given with an Intention to maintain those of the Religion, in all the Rights that Nature and Civil

Society

Society give to Men. Yet in 1681. there came out an Edict, that Children might at the Age of Seven Years, abjure the Reformed Religion, and embrace the Catholick, under pretence, that the Edict did not preciſely mark, that at this Age they ſhould continue at their Parents Diſpoſal. Who ſees not that this was a meer trick, ſeing that on one hand, the Edict forbad to take the Children from their Parents by force, or fair means; and on the other hand, the Edict ſuppoſed and confirmed all the Natural Rights, of which, without Controverſie, this is one of the moſt inviolable. Was there ever a more manifeſt Infraction of the Edict, than that, which forbad thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion, who had paſſed over to the *Roman*, to return to that they had left, under pretence, that the Edict did not formally give them in expreſs Terms this Liberty. For when the Edict permits generally all the Kings Subjects Liberty of Conſcience, and forbids the perplexing and troubling them, and offering any thing contrary to this Liberty. Who ſees not that this Exception, touching the pretended Relapſers, is ſo far from being an Explication of the Edict, that 'tis a notable violation of it.

Whereunto we may add the charge given to the *Roman* Catholicks not to change their Religion, and embrace the Reformed. For when the Edict gives Liberty of Conſcience, it does it in proper Terms, for all thoſe, who are, and ſhall be of the ſaid Religion. Yet if we believe the Clergy, this was not *Henry* the Great's meaning, intending only to grant it to thoſe, who made Profeſſion of it, at the time of the making his Edict. That of *Nantes* gave alſo to the Reformed, the priviledges of keeping ſmall Schools in all places, where they had the Exerciſe of their Religion, and by this Term of ſmall or little Schools, according to the common explication, thoſe were always underſtood, where one might teach Latin and Humanity. This is the Sence, which has been ever given in all the Kingdom, to this Expreſſion, which is ſtill given when it concerns the *Roman* Catholicks. Yet by a new Interpretation, this permiſſion was reſtrained to the bare Liberty of teaching to read, and write, as if the Reformed were unworthy to learn any more; and this on purpoſe, to tire out the Parents, and drive them to this extremity, either not to know what to do with their Children, or be forced to ſend them to the *Roman* Catholicks for Education.

The Edict gave them the liberty in all places where they had Churches, to inſtruct publickly their Children, and others, in what concerns Religion, which viſibly eſtabliſhit the Right of teaching them Theology, ſeeing their Theology is nothing elſe but this Religion. And as to Colleges, wherein they might be inſtructed in Liberal Sciences, the Edict promiſed Letters Pattents in good form. Yet 'twas ſuppoſed the Edict gave no right to the Reformed to inſtruct them in Theology, nor to have Colleges, and on this Suppoſition, three Academies were condemned, all that remained. That of *Sedan*, although grounded on a particular Edict, was ſuppreſt as the reſt, and even before them.

But we muſt go further, and ſeeing we have undertaken, to ſhew in this Abridgment, the principal things they have done to exerciſe our Patience, before they came to the utmoſt Fury. We are not to paſs over the new Orders, or new Laws, which were to us as ſo many new Inventions to torment us. The firſt of theſe Orders, which appeared, was touching the manner of Buryals, and entering the Dead. The number of Attendants were reduced to thirty Perſons in thoſe places where the Exerciſe of our Religion was actually eſtabliſhed, and to ten where it was not. Orders were alſo iſſued out to hinder the Communication of Provinces with one another, by Circulary Letters, or otherwiſe; though about matters of Alms and diſpoſal of Charity. Prohibitions were likewiſe made of holding Colloquies in the Interval of Synods, excepting in two Caſes, the providing for Churches deſtitute by the Deaths of their Miniſters; and the Correction of ſome Scandals. They likewiſe took away from thoſe places, allowed by the Edict, which they cal'd *Exerciſes de fief*, all the Marks of the Temples, as the Bell, the Pulpit, and other things of this Nature. They were likewiſe forbidden to receive their Miniſters in Synods to have any deciding Voice there, or to note them in the Catalogue of thoſe that belong'd to Churches. Others forbad the ſinging of Pſalms in private Houſes, as alſo ſome that commanded them to ceaſe ſinging even in their Temples when the Sacrament paſſed by, or at the time of any Proceſſion. Others were made to hinder Marriages, ſuch times as were forbidden by the *Romiſh* Church. Others forbad Miniſters to Preach any where, except in the place of their uſual Reſidence. Others forbad their ſetling in places, unleſs ſent by the *Synods*, though the Conſiſtories had call'd them thither according to their uſual forms.

Others

Others were made to hinder the Synods from ſending to any Churches more Miniſters than were there in the preceding Synod. Others, to hinder thoſe that deſign'd for the Miniſtry, to be educated in Foreign Univerſities. Others baniſh'd all Foreign Miniſters, though they had been ordained in the Kingdom, and ſpent there the greateſt part of their Lives. Others forbad Miniſters, or Cardinals for the Miniſtry to reſide in places where Preaching was forbidden, or nearer than ſix Miles of them. Others forbad the People to aſſemble in the Temples, under pretence of Praying, Reading, or Singing of Pſalms, except in the Preſence of a Miniſter, placed there by the Synod. One ridiculous one was made to take away all the Backs of the Seats in the Churches, and reduce them all to an exact Uniformity. Another, to hinder the Churches that were a little more Rich, to aſſiſt the Weaker, for the maintenance of their Miniſters, and other neceſſities. Another to oblige Parents to give their Children, who changed their Religion, great Penſions. Another to forbid Marriages betwixt Parties of different Religions, even in the caſe of Scandalous Cohabitation. Another to prohibit thoſe of the Religion, from that time, to entertain in their Houſes any Domeſticks or Servants that were Roman Catholicks. Another which made them uncapable of being Tutors or Guardians; and conſequently put all the Minors, whoſe Fathers dyed in the Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, under the Power and Education of Roman Catholicks. Another forbidding Miniſters and Elders to hinder any of their Flock, either directly or indirectly, to embrace the Roman Religion, or to diſſuade them from it. Another forbidding *Jews* and *Mahometans* to embrace the Reformed Religion; and the Miniſters either to inſtruct or receive them into it. Another ſubjecting Synods to receive ſuch Roman Catholick Commiſſaries as ſhould be ſent them from the King, with an expreſs order to do nothing, but in their preſence. Another forbidding the Conſiſtories to aſſemble oftner than once in Fifteen days, and in preſence of a Catholick Commiſſary. Another forbidding Conſiſtories to aſſiſt, on pretence of Charity to the Poor Sick Perſons of their Religion; and ordaining that the Sick ſhould be carried into their Hoſpitals, ſtrictly forbidding any Man to entertain them in their Houſes. Another confiſcating, in favour of Hoſpitals, all the Lands, Rents, and other Profits of what nature ſoever, which might have appertained to a condem-

ned Church. Another forbidding Miniſters to come nearer than Three Leagues to the place where the Priviledges of Preaching was in queſtion or debate. Another confiſcated to the Hoſpitals all the Revenues and Rents ſet apart for the maintenance of the Poor, even in ſuch Churches as were yet ſtanding. Another ſubjecting ſick and dying Perſons to the neceſſity of receiving Viſits, ſometimes from Judges, Commiſſionaries, or Church-Wardens; ſometimes of Curates, Monks, Miſſionaries, or other Eccleſiaſticks, to induce them to change their Religion, or require of them expreſs Declarations concerning it. Another forbidding Parents to ſend their Children before ſixteen years of Age to travel in Forreign Countries, on any pretence whatſoever. Another prohibiting Lords or Gentlemen to continue the exerciſe of Religion in their Houſes, unleſs they had firſt produced their Titles before the Commiſſaries, and obtained from them a Licenſe to have Preaching. Another which reſtrained the right of entertaining a Miniſter to thoſe only, who were in Poſſeſſion of their Lands ever ſince the Edict of *Nantes*, in a direct or collateral Line. Another which forbad Churches called *Baillage* to receive into their Temples any of another Bailywick. Another which enjoined Phyſitians, Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, to advertiſe the Curates or Magiſtrates of the condition of Sick *Proteſtants*, that the Magiſtrates or Curates might viſit them. But amongſt all theſe new Laws, thoſe which have moſt ſerved the Deſign and Intention of the Clergy, have been on one hand, the prohibition of receiving into their Temples any of thoſe who had changed their Religion, nor their Children, nor any *Roman* Catholick of what Age, Sex, or Condition ſoever, under pain of forfeiting their Churches, and the Miniſters doing publick Pennance, with Baniſhment and Confiſcation of their Eſtates; and on the other ſide, the ſetting up in all the Temples a particular Bench for the Catholicks to ſit on; for by this means, as ſoon as any one reſolved to change his Religion, they needed only to make him do it in private, and to find him the next Morning in the Temple, to be obſerved there by the Catholicks, who were in their Seat. Immediately Informations were made, and afterwards Condemnations, in all the Rigour of the Law. The *Roman* Catholicks needed only to enter into the Temple, under pretence, that they had a place there, and then they ſlipt in amongſt the Croud, and immediately this was a Contravention to the Declaration, and

an

an unavoidable Condemnation. 'Tis by this means they have deſtroyed an infinite number of Temples and Churches, and put into Irons a great number of Innocent Miniſters; for Villains and falſe Witneſſes were not wanting in this occaſion.

All theſe Proceedings were ſo violent, that they muſt needs make a ſtrong Impreſſion in the Reformists Minds, whereunto theſe things tended. And in effect, there were many of them, that bethought themſelves of their ſafety, by leaving the Kingdom, ſome tranſported themſelves into one Kingdom, and ſome into another, according as their Inclinations led them. But this was what the Court never intended, for more than one reaſon; and therefore to hinder them, they renewed from time to time this Decree, which we have mentioned, which ſtrictly prohibited, under the moſt ſevere Penalties, any to depart the Kingdom without leave; and to this end they ſtrictly guarded all Paſſages on the Frontiers. But theſe Precautions did not anſwer their Expectations, and 'twas better to blind the People, by hopes of abating this rigorous uſage at home; and to this end in 1669. the King revoked ſeveral violent Decrees, which produced the Effect expected. For though the Judicious ſaw well enough, that this Moderation ſprang not from a good Principle, and that, in the Sequel, the ſame Decrees would be put in execution, yet the moſt part imagined they would ſtill confine themſelves within ſome Bounds in our regard, and that they would not paſs to a total Deſtruction.

We have often drawn the ſame Concluſions from the ſeveral Verbal Declarations, which came many times from the Kings own Mouth, that he pretended not to indulge us, but he would do us perfect Juſtice, and let us enjoy the benefits of the Edicts in their whole extent, that he would be very glad to ſee all his Subjects re-united to the Catholick Religion, and would for the effecting this, contribute all his Power, but there ſhould be no Bloud ſhed, during his Reign, on this account, nor any violence exerciſed. Theſe preciſe and re-iterated Declarations, gave us hopes the King would not forget them; and eſpecially in eſſential matters, he would let us enjoy the effects of his Bounty and Equity. 'Twas the more expected by a Letter, he wrote to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the Copies of which the Miniſters of State took care to diſperſe through the whole Kingdom. His Majeſty aſſured him, that he was well ſatisfyed with the Behaviour of his *Proteſtant* Subjects,

Subjects, from whence he drew this natural Concluſion, that he intended not then to deſtroy us.

To which we may add the managements uſed ſometimes in the Council, where Churches were conſerved, at the ſame time when others were ordered to be demoliſh'd; to make the World believe, they obſerved meaſures of Juſtice; and that thoſe which they condemned, were not grounded on good Titles. Sometimes they ſoftned ſeveral too rigorous Decrees; other times they ſeemed not to approve of the violences offered by the Intendants and Magiſtrates; even to the giving of orders to moderate them. In this manner did they hinder the execution of a Decree made in the Parliament of *Rouen*, which enjoyned thoſe of the Reformed Religion to fall on their Knees, when they met the Sacrament. Thus did they ſtop the proſecutions of a puny Judge of *Charenton*, who ordered us to ſtrike out of our Liturgy a prayer which was compoſed for the faithful, that groaned under the Tyranny of Antichriſt. 'Tis thus alſo, that they did not extreamly favour another Perſecution which began to come general in the Kingdom againſt the Miniſters, under pretence of obliging them to take an Oath of Allegiance, wherein other Clauſes were inſerted, contrary to what Miniſters owe to their Charges and Religion. 'Twas thus alſo they ſuſpended the execution of ſome Edicts, which themſelves had procured, as well to Tax the Miniſters, as to oblige them to reſide preciſely in the place where they exerciſed their Miniſtry. With the ſame deſign the Syndic's of the Clergy, had the Art to let the principal Churches of the Kingdom to be at reſt, for many years without diſturbance in their Aſſemblies; whilſt they in the mean time, deſolated all thoſe in the Country. They ſuſpended alſo the condemnation of the Univerſities, and reſerved them for the laſt. It was alſo in this view, that at Court, the firſt ſeemed unable to believe, and at laſt not to approve of the exceſſes, which one *Marillac* an Intendant of *Poitu*, committed in his Province: A man poor and cruel, more fit to prey on the High-ways, than to be Intendant of a Province; though indeed they had a clauſe expreſly to make theſe Expeditions. But amongſt all theſe illuſions, there's none more remarkable, than five or ſix, which will not be improper here to take notice of: The firſt was, That at the very time, when at the Court they iſſued out all the Decrees, Declarations, and Edicts, which we have ſpoken of here before, and which they cauſed to be

be put in execution with the greateſt rigour, at the ſame time, that they interdicted their Churches, demoliſhed their Temples, deprived particular perſons of their Offices and Employments, reduced People to Poverty and Hunger, impriſoned them, loaded them with Fines, baniſh'd them, and in a word, ravag'd almoſt all; the Intendants, Governours, Magiſtrates, and other Officers in *Paris*, and over all the Kingdom, coolly and gravely gave out, the King had not the leaſt intention to touch the Edict of *Nantes*, but would moſt Religiouſly obſerve it. The ſecond was, that in the ſame Edict, which the King publiſh'd to forbid Roman Catholicks to embrace the Reformed Religion, which was in the year 1682. That is to ſay, at a time when they had already greatly advanced the work of our deſtruction; they cauſed a formal Clauſe to be inſerted in theſe terms, *That he confirmed the Edict of* Nantes, *as much as it was or ſhould be needful.* The third, That in the Circular Letters which the King wrote to the Biſhops and Intendants, to oblige them to ſignifie the Paſtoral Advertiſement of the Clergy to our Conſiſtories, he tells them in expreſs terms, *That his intention was not that they ſhould do any thing that might attempt upon what had been granted to thoſe of the Reformed Religion, by the Edicts and Declarations made in their favour.* The fourth, That by an expreſs Declaration publiſh'd about the latter end of the year 1684. the King ordained, That Miniſters ſhould not remain in the ſame Church, above the ſpace of three years, nor return to the firſt, within the ſpace of Twelve; and that they ſhould be thus tranſlated from Church to Church, at leaſt twenty Leagues diſtant from the other; ſuppoſing by a manifeſt conſequence, that his deſign was yet to permit the exerciſe of Religion to the Miniſters in the Kingdom for Twelve years at leaſt. Though indeed they at that moment deſign'd the Revocation of the Edict, and had reſolved it in the Council. The fifth conſiſts in a Requeſt preſented to the King, by the Aſſembly of the Clergy at the ſame time, that they were drawing an Edict to revoke that of *Nantes*, and put into the Hands of the *Procurer* General to frame it; and in the Decree which was granted on this requeſt, the Clergy complain'd of the miſrepreſentations which the Miniſters are wont to make of the *Roman* Church, to which they attribute Doctrines which they do not hold, and beſeech his Majeſty to provide againſt it. And alſo expreſly declared, that they did not yet deſire the Revocation of the Edict, upon which the

King,

King by his Decree expresly forbad the Ministers to speak either good or hurt, directly or indirectly of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons; supposing, as every one may see, that 'twas his Intention still to let them Preach; were ever such illusions known? But was there ever any greater than this which they put in the very Edict we speak of? The King after having cancelled and annul'd the Edict of *Nantes*, and all that depended thereon, after having interdicted for ever all publick Religious Exercises, he also for ever banish'd all the Ministers from his Kingdom, and expresly declares, that his will is, that his other Subjects, who are not willing to change their Religion, may remain where they are in all Liberty, enjoy their Estates, and live with the same Freedom as heretofore, without any molestation on pretence of their Religion, till it shall please God to enlighten and convert them. These were Amusements and Snares to entrap them, as it has since appeared, and it still appears every day by the horrible usages they suffer, and of which we shall speak in what follows. But we shall, first, mention a preparatory Machin, which the Persecutors have not fail'd to employ to effect their Design, and which we have reckoned to be the Sixth in order. It consists in disposing insensibly the People by degrees to desire our Destruction; to approve of it when done, and to diminish in their Mind the Horror which naturally they must have at the Cruelties and Injustices of our Persecutors Contrivances. For this purpose several means have been used, and the commonest have been the Sermons of the Missionaries and other Controversial Preachers, with which the Kingdom has been for some years stockt, under the Title of *Royal Missions*. There were fitting Youths, chosen for this purpose, who had such an Education given them, which was so far from making them Moderate as rather enflamed them; so that 'tis easy to comprehend what Actors these are, when they not only found themselves upheld, but saw themselves moreover set on, and had expres Orders to inspire their Hearers with Choler. And so well did they acquit themselves herein, that 'twas not their fault if Popular Emotions have not followed thereon in great Cities, yea in *Paris* it self, had not the Prudence of the Magistrates hindred them. To the Preachers we must join the Confessors and Directors of Mens Consciences, the Monks, the Curates, and in general, all the Ecclesiasticks from the highest to the lowest; for they being not ignorant of the Courts Intention

in

In this matter, every one ſtrove to ſhew moſt Zeal, and Averſion to the Reformed Religion, becauſe every one found his Intereſt lay therein, this being the only way to raiſe and eſtabliſh his Fortune. In this deſign of animating the People, there paſt few days wherein the Streets did not ring, as well with the publication of Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations againſt the Proteſtants, as alſo with Satyrical and Seditious Libels, of which the People in the Towns of *France* are very greedy.

But theſe things ſerved only for the meaner ſort of People, and the Perſecutors had this Mortification to ſee this Deſign diſapproved by all thoſe who were a degree above the Mobile. Wherefore they employed the Pens of ſome of their Authors, who had acquired any Reputation in the World; and amongſt others, that of the Author of the Hiſtory of *Theodoſius* the Great, and that of Mr. *Maimburg*, heretofore a Jeſuite. He publiſh'd his Hiſtory of *Calviniſm*, of which he has ſince had the leaſure to repent, by the ſmart and pertinent Anſwers which have been given him: Their Example has been followed by ſeveral others; and *Monſieur Arnaud*, who will always make one in theſe matters, would not deny himſelf the ſatisfaction of venting his Choler; and at the ſame time endeavour to recover the Favour he has loſt at Court. But although his Apology for the Catholicks was a Work as full of Fire and Paſſion as the *Bigots* themſelves could Wiſh, yet 'twas not agreeable, becauſe his perſon was not; he was ſo ill gratified for it, that he complained thereof to the Arch-Biſhop of *Rheims*, in a Letter, the Copies whereof were diſperſed over all *Paris*. Amongſt other things, he exaggerated his Misfortune, and compared himſelf with another, who for much leſs Services, received Twenty Thouſand Livers, as a Reward from the King. This more and more ſhewed the Character of the Perſon. However they needed not him, not wanting violent Writers, amongſt whom we muſt not forget one Mr. *Soulier*, formerly (as they ſay) a Taylor, and at preſent Author of the Hiſtory of the *Edicts of Pacification*; nor Mr. *Nicole*, once a great *Janſeniſt*, and now a Proſelyte of the Archbiſhops of *Paris*; Author of the Book entituled, *Proteſtants convinced of Schiſm*: nor the Author of the *Journal des Scavans*, who, in his ordinary Gazets highly affirms, That the Catholick Faith muſt be planted by Fire and Sword, alledging for the proof thereof a King of *Norway*, who converted the Nobles of his country, by threatning them, *To ſlay their Chil-*

dren before their Eyes, if they would not consent to have them baptized, and to be baptized themselves. For a long time we have seen in *Paris*, and elsewhere, nothing but such sort of Writings, to such a height was Passion come.

Whilst all these things, which we have here observed, were done in *France*, they by great steps advanced to their end. 'Tis not to be imagined the Reformed neglected their common Interests or did not all that respected a just and lawful Defence. They frequently sent, from the furthest Provinces, their Deputies to the Court; They maintained their Rights before the Council; Thither they brought their Complaints from all parts. They employed their Deputy General to solicit their Interests, as well with the Judges and Ministers of State, as with the King himself. Sometimes also they presented general Addresses, in which they exposed their Grievances, with all the Humility and Deference that Subjects owe their Soveraigns. But they were so far from being heard, that their Troubles were still encreased, and their Second Condition became worse than the First. The last Petition, presented to the King himself, by the Deputy General, in *March*, 1684, was express in Terms most submissive, and most capable of moving Pity, as every one may judge, having been since Printed; and yet it produced no other Fruit, but the hastning of what they had long resolved, namely, to use open Force to accomplish our Ruine.

This was effectually done some Months after, and executed in a manner so terrible and violent, that, as we said in the beginning, there are few in *Europe*, how distant soever from the notice of the common Accidents of the World, who have not heard the Report of it; but 'tis certain, the Circumstances are not known to all, and therefore we shall give an account of them in few Words; if it be but to stop the Mouth of their Impudence, who publisht abroad, That no Violences have been offered in *France*, and the Conversions there made, were with free Consent. At first they took this Measure, to quarter Soldiers in all their Provinces, almost at the same time, and chiefly Dragoons, which are the most Resolute Troops of the Kingdom. Terror and Dread marched before them, and as it were, by consent, all *France* was filled with this News, That the King would not longer suffer any *Huguenots* in his Kingdom; and that they must resolve to change their Religion, nothing being able to keep them from it.

They

They began with *Bearn*, where the Dragoons did their first Executions; these were followed soon after in High and Low *Guienne*, *Xaintonge*, *Aunis*, *Poitu*, High *Languedoc*, *Vivarets*, and *Dauphine*; after which they came to *Lionois*, *Gevennes*, Low *Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Velay*, and the Country of *Gex*, afterwards they fell on the rest of the Kingdom, *Normandy*, *Bourgoigne*, *Nivernois*, and *Berry*; the Countries of *Orleans*, *Tourain*, *Anjou*, *Britany*, *Champagne*, *Picardy*, and the Isle of *France*, not excluding *Paris* it self, which underwent the same Fate; the first thing, the Intendants were ordered to do, was to summon the Cities and Communalties. They assembled the Inhabitants thereof, who profest the Reformed Religion, and there told them, 'twas the King's Pleasure they should without delay become Catholics; and if they would not do it freely, they would make them do it by force. The poor People, surprised with such a Proposal, answered, They were ready to sacrifice their Estates and Lives to the King, but their Consciences, being Gods, they could not in that manner dispose of them.

There needed no more to make them immediately bring the Dragoons, which were not far off. The Troops immediately seized on the Gates and Avenues of the Cities; they placed Guards in all the Passages, and often came with their Swords in their Hands, crying, *Kill, Kill, or else be Catholics*, they were quartered on the Reformists at Discretion, with a strict Charge, that none should depart out of their Houses, nor conceal any of their Goods or Effects, on great Penalties, even on the Catholics, that should receive or assist them in any manner. The first days were spent in consuming all Provisions the House afforded, and taking from them whatever they could see, Money, Rings, Jewels, and in general, whatsoever was of value. After this, the pillaged the Family, and invited, not only the Catholics of the place, but also, those of the Neighbouring Cities and Towns, to come and buy the Goods, and other things which would yield Money. Afterwards they fell on their Persons, and there's no Wickedness or Horror which they did not put in practise, to force them to change their Religion. Amidst a thousand hideous Cries, and a thousand Blasphemies, they hung Men and Women by the Hair or Feet, on the Roofs of the Chamber, or Chimney Hooks, and smoakt them with Whisps of wet Hay, till they were no longer able to bear it, and when they had taken them down, if

they would not ſing, they hung them up immediately again. They threw them into great Fires kindled on purpoſe, and pulled them not out till they were half Roaſted. They tyed Ropes under their Arms, and plunged them to and again into Wells, from whence they would not take them, till they had promiſed to change their Religion. They tyed them as they do Criminals, put to the queſtion; and in this poſture, with a Funnel fill'd with Wine, poured it down their Throats, till the Fumes of it depriving them of their Reaſon, they made them ſay they would conſent to be Catholics. They ſtript them naked, and after having offered them a 1000 infamous Indignities, they ſtuck them with Pins from the top to the bottom. They cut them with Penknifes, and ſometimes with red hot Pincers took them by the Noſe, and dragged them about their Rooms, till they promiſed to become Catholics, or that the Cries of theſe poor Wretches, that in this Condition call'd on God for their Aſſiſtance, conſtrained them to let them go. They beat them with Staves, and dragged them, all bruiſed, to the Churches, where their bare forced Preſence was accounted for an Abjuration. They held them from ſleeping ſeven or eight Days, relieving one another to watch them Night and Day, and keept them waking. They threw Buckets of Water on their Faces, and tormented them a 1000 ways, holding over their Heads Kettles turned downwards, whereon they made a continual Noiſe, till theſe poor Creatures had even loſt their Sences. If they found any ſick, either Men or Women, that kept their Beds, diſtempered with Fevers, or other Diſeaſes, they had the Cruelty to bring twelve Drums ſounding an Alarm about their Beds, for whole Weeks together without Intermiſſion, till they had promiſed they would change. It hapned in ſome places, that they tyed Fathers and Husbands to the Bed-Poſts, and before their Eyes forced their Wives and Daughters. In another place Rapes were publickly and generally permitted for many Hours together. They pluckt off the Nails from the Hands and Toes of others, which could not be endured without intollerable Pain. They burnt the Feet of others. They blew up Men and Women with Bellows, even till they were ready to burſt.

If after theſe horrid uſages, there were yet any that refuſed to turn, they impriſoned them; and for this choſe Dungeons dark and noyſom, in which they exerciſed on them all ſorts of Inhumanity.

manity. In the mean time they demoliſhed their Houſes, deſolated their Hereditary Lands, cut down their Woods, and ſeized their Wives and Children, to impriſon them in Monaſteries. When the Souldiers had devoured and conſumed all in a Houſe, the Farmers of their Lands furniſht them with Subſiſtance; and to re-imburſe them, they ſold by Authority of Juſtice the Fonds of their Hoſts, and put them in poſſeſſion thereof. If ſome, to ſecure their Conſciences, and to eſcape the Tyranny of theſe Furious Men, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by Flight, they were purſued, and hunted in the Fields and Woods, and were ſhot at like Wild Beaſts. The Provoſts rode about the High-ways, and the Magiſtrates of places had orders to ſtop them without exception. They brought them back to the places from whence they fled, uſing them like Priſoners of War. But we muſt not fancy, that this Storm fell only on the common Sort, Noblemen and Gentlemen of the beſt Quality were not exempted from it. They had Soldiers quartered upon them in the ſame manner, and with the ſame Fury as Citizens and Peaſants had. They plundred their Houſes, waſted their Goods, raſed their Caſtles, cut down their Woods, and their very Perſons were expoſed to the Inſolence and Barbarity of the Dragoons, no leſs than thoſe of others. They ſpared neither Sex, Age, nor Quality; wherever they found any unwillingneſs to obey the command of changing their Religion, they practiſed the ſame Violences. There were ſtill remaining ſome Officers of Parliament which underwent the ſame fate, after having been firſt deprived of their Offices; and even the Military Officers, who were actually in Service, were ordered to quit their Poſt and Quarters, and repair immediately to their Houſes, there to ſuffer the like Storm; if to avoid it, they would not become Catholics. Many Gentlemen and other Perſons of Quality, and many Ladies of great Age and antient Families, ſeeing all theſe Outrages, hoped to find ſome retreat in *Paris*, or at the Court, not imagining the Dragoons would come to ſeek them ſo near the Kings Preſence; but this hope was no leſs vain, than all the reſt; for immediately there was a Decree of Council, which commanded them to leave *Paris* in Fifteen days, and return without delay to their own Houſes; with a prohibition to all Perſons to entertain or lodge them in their Houſes. Some having attempted to preſent Adreſſes to the King, containing Complaints of theſe cruel Uſages, humbly beſeeching his Majeſty to ſtop the

courſe

course thereof, received no other Answer, than that of sending them to the *Bastile*.

Before we proceed any further, 'twill not be amiss to make some Remarks; The first shall be, that almost every where, at the Head of their Infernal Legions, besides the Commanders and Military Officers, the Intendants also, and the Bishops marched every one in his Diocess, with a Troop of Missionaries, Monks, and other Ecclesiasticks. The Intendants gave such Orders as they thought most fitting to carry on Conversion, and restrain natural Pity and Compassion, if at any time it found a place in the Hearts of Dragoons, or their Commanders, which did not often happen. And as for the Bishops, they were there to keep open House, to receive Abjurations, and to have a general and severe Inspection, that every thing might pass there according to the Intentions of the Clergy. The second thing observable is, That when the Dragoons had made some to yield, by all the Horrors which they practised, they immediately changed their Quarters, and sent them to those who still persevered. This Order was observed in this manner even to the end; insomuch that the last, that is to say, those who had shewed the greatest Constancy, had, in fine, quartered on them alone all the Dragoons, which at the beginning were equally dispers'd amongst the Inhabitants of the place, which was a load impossible to be sustained.

A Third Remark, which we shall make, is, That in almost all the considerable Cities, they took care before they sent Troops thither, to gain by means of the Intendants, or some other private way, a certain number of People, not only to change their Religion themselves, when it should be seasonable, but also to assist them in perverting others. So that when the Dragoons had sufficiently done their part, the Intendant, with the Bishop, and the Commander of the Forces, again assembled these miserable Inhabitants, already ruined, to exhort them to obey the King, and become Catholics; adding thereto most terrible Threats, that they might over-awe them, and then the new Converts failed not to execute what they had promised, which they did with the more success, because the People did yet put some kind of Confidence in them.

A fourth Observation is, that when the Master of the House, thinking to get rid of the Dragoons, had obeyed and signed what they would, he was not freed from them for all this; if his

Wife,

Wife, Children, and the meaneſt of his Domeſticks did not do the ſame thing; and when his Wife, or any of his Children or Family fled, they could not overcome them, till he had made them return: which ſometimes being impoſſible, the change of their Religion did not at all avail them.

The Fifth is, That when theſe poor wretches fancied their Conſciences would be at reſt by ſigning ſome form of an Equivocal Abjuration offered them, a little while after theſe cruel men came to them again, and made them ſign another, which plunged them into ſuch depths, as caſt them into the utmoſt deſpair. Nay farther, they had the boldneſs to make them acknowledge, That they embraced the Roman Religion of their own accord; without having been induced thereunto by any violent means. If after this they ſcrupled to go to Maſs, if they did not Communicate, if they did not tell their Beads; or by a ſigh eſcaped from them, they ſignified any unwillingneſs, they had immediately a Fine laid upon them, and they were forced to receive again their old gueſts.

In fine, for a Concluſion, As faſt as the Troops ravaged in this manner the Provinces, ſpreading terror and deſolation in all parts; Orders were ſent to all the Frontier Countries and Sea-port Towns, to guard well the paſſages, and ſtop all ſuch who pretended to eſcape from *France*: So that there was no hope of theſe poor wretches ſaving themſelves by flight. None were permitted to paſs, if he brought not along with him a Certificate from his Biſhop or Curate, that he was a Catholick: others were put in Priſon, and uſed like Traytors againſt their Country. All ſtrange Veſſels lying in the Ports were ſearched; the Coaſts, Bridges, Paſſages to Rivers, and the High-ways, were ſtrictly guarded, both night and day. The Neighbouring States were alſo required not to harbour any more Fugitives, and to ſend back again ſuch as they had already received. Attempts were alſo made to ſeiſe on, and carry away ſome, who had eſcaped into Foreign Countries.

Whilſt all this was acting in the Kingdom, the Court were conſulting to give the laſt ſtreak, which conſiſted in repealing the Edict of *Nantes*; much time was ſpent in drawing up the matter and form of this new Edict. Some would have the King detain all the Miniſters, and force them as they did the Laity, to change their Religion, or condemn them to perpetual Impriſonment.

They

They alledged for their reaſon, that if they did not do it, they would be as ſo many dangerous Enemies againſt them in Foreign Nations. Others on the contrary affirmed, that as long as the Miniſters continued in *France*, this their preſence would encourage the People to abide in their Religion, whatſoever care might be taken to hinder them; and that ſuppoſing they ſhould change, they would be but as ſo many ſecret adverſaries nouriſhed in the boſom of the Church of *Rome*; and the more dangerous on the account of their knowledge and experience in Controverſial matters. This laſt reaſoning prevailed; 'twas then reſolved on to baniſh the Miniſters, and to give them no more than fifteen days time to depart the Kingdom. As to what remained, the Edict was given to the Procurer-General of the Parliament of *Paris*, to draw it up in ſuch a form as he ſhould judge moſt fitting. But before the publiſhing of it, two things were thought neceſſary to be done; The firſt to oblige the aſſembly of the Clergy, ſeparately to preſent to the King a requeſt concerning the matter above mentioned, in which alſo they told his Majeſty, that they deſired not at preſent the repealing the Edict of *Nantes*; and the other to ſuppreſs in general, all kind of Books made by them of the Reformed Religion, and to iſſue out an Order for that purpoſe. By the firſt of theſe things, the Clergy thought to ſhelter themſelves from the reproaches, which might be caſt on them as the Authors of ſo many Miſeries, Injuſtices an Oppreſſions which this Repeal would ſtill occaſion: And by the other, they pretended to make the Converſions much more eaſie (as they ſtyled them) and confirm thoſe which had bin already made, by taking from the People all Books, which might inſtruct, fortifie, and bring them back again.

In fine, This Revocative Edict of *Nantes*, was ſigned and publiſhed on *Thurſday*, being the 8*th* of *October*, in the year 1685. 'Tis ſaid the Chancellor of *France*, ſhewed an extream joy in Sealing it; but it laſted not long, this being the laſt thing he did. For as ſoon as he came home from *Fountainbleau*, he fell ſick, and dyed within a few days. 'Tis certain, that this mans policy, rather than his natural Inclination, induced him in his latter years to become one of our Perſecutors.

The Edict was Regiſtred in the Parliament of *Paris*, and immediately after in the others. It contains a Preface, and Twelve Articles. In the Preface, the King ſhews that *Henry* the Great's Grand-

Grandfather did not give the Edict, and *Lewis* his Father did not confirm it, by his other Edict of *Nismes*, but in the design of endeavouring more effectually the re-union of their Subjects of the pretended reformed Religion, to the Catholick Church; and that this was also the Design which he had himself at his first coming to the Crown. That 'tis true, he had bin hindred by the Wars, which he was forced to carry on against the Enemies of his State; but that at present being at Peace with all the Princes of *Europe*, he wholly gave himself to the making of this Re-union. That God having given him the Grace of accomplishing it, and seeing the greatest and best part of his Subjects of the said Religion had embraced the Catholick one, these Edicts of *Nantes* and *Nismes* consequently became void and useless. By the first Article, he suppresses and repeals them, in all their extent; and ordains that all their Temples, which are found yet standing in his Kingdom, shall be immediately demolished. By the Second, he forbids all sorts of Religious Assemblies of what kind soever. The Third, prohibits the Exercises of Religion to all Lords and Gentlemen of any Quality, under Corporal Penalties and Confiscation of their Estates. The Fourth, banishes from his Kingdom all the Ministers, and enjoins them to depart thence, within Fifteen days after the publication of this Edict, under the Penalty of being sent to the Gallies. In the Fifth and Sixth, he promises Recompences and Advantages to the Ministers and their Widows, who should change their Religion. In the Seventh and Eighth, he forbids the Instructing of Children in the pretended reformed Religion, and ordains that those who shall be born henceforward shall be baptised, and brought up in the Catholick Religion, enjoyning Parents to send them to the Churches, under the Penalty of being fined 500 Livers. The Ninth gives Four Months time to such Persons as have departed already out of the Kingdom to return, otherwise their Goods and Estates to be confiscated. The Tenth, with repeated Prohibitions, forbids all his Subjects of the said Religion to depart out of his Realm, they, their Wives and Children, or to convey away their Effects, under pain of the Gallies for the Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for the Women. The Eleventh, confirms the Declarations heretofore made against those that Relapse. The Twelfth declares, that as to the rest of his Subjects of the said Religion, they may, till God enlightens them, remain in the Cities of his Kingdom, Countries

and Lands of his Obedience, there continue their Commerce, and enjoy their Estates, without Trouble or Molestation upon pretence of the said Religion, on condition, that they have no Assemblies under pretex tof Praying, or exercising any religious Worship whatever.

In order to put this Edict in execution, the very same day that it was registred and published at *Paris*, they began to demolish the Church of *Charenton*. The eldest Minister thereof was commanded to leave *Paris* within twenty four Hours, and immediately to depart the Kingdom. For this end they put him into the Hands of one of the Kings Footmen, with orders not to leave him till he was out of his Dominions. His Collegues were little better treated, they gave them forty eight hours to quit *Paris*, and then left them upon their Parole. The rest of the Ministers were allowed fifteen days, but it can hardly be believed to what Vexations and Cruelties they were all expoled. First of all, they neither permitted them to dispose of their Estates, nor to carry away any of their moveables or effects, nay they disputed them their Books and private Papers, one pretence, that they must justify, their Books and Papers did not belong to the Consistories wherein they serv'd, which was a thing impossible, since there were no Consistories, that then remained. Beside, they would not give them leave to take along with them either Father or Mother, or Brother or Sister, or any of their Kindred, though there were many of them infirm, decay'd and poor, which could not subsist but by their means; they went so far, as even to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years Old; nay, some they took from them that were under that Age, and even such as yet hang'd upon their Mothers Breasts. They refused them Nurses for their new born Infants, which the Mothers could not give Suck. In some Frontier Places they stopped and imprisoned them, upon divers ridiculous Pretences; they must immediately prove that they were really the same Persons, which their Certificates mentioned; they were to know immediately whether there were no Criminal Process or Informations against them; they must presently justify, that they carryed away nothing that belonged to their Flocks; sometime after they had thus detained and amused them, they were told that the fifteen days of the Edict were expired, and that they should not have Liberty to retire, but must go to the Gallies. There is no kind of Deceit and Injustice which they did not think of to involve them in Troubles.

As

As to the reſt, whom the Force of Perſecution and hard Uſage conſtrained to leave their Houſes and Eſtates, and to fly the Kingdom, it is not to be imagined what dangers they expoſed them to. Never were Orders more ſevere or more ſtrict, than thoſe that were given againſt them. They doubled the Guards in Poſts, Cities, High-Ways, and Foards, they covered the Country with Soldiers, they armed even the Peſants to ſtop thoſe that paſſed, or to kill them: They forbad all the Officers of the Cuſtoms to ſuffer any Goods, Moveables, Marchandize, or other Effects, to paſs. In a Word, they forgot nothing that could hinder the flight of the perſecuted, even to the interrupting almoſt all Commerce with Neighbouring Nations: By this means they quickly filled all the Priſons in the Kingdom; for the fear of the Dragoons, the Horror of ſeeing their Conſciences forced, and their Children taken away, and of living for the future in a Land where there was neither Juſtice nor Humanity for them, obliged every one to think of an eſcape, and to abandon all to ſave their Perſons. All theſe poor Priſoners have been ſince treated with unheard of Rigours, ſhut up in Dungeons, loaded with heavy Chains, almoſt ſtarved with Hunger, and deprived of all Converſe, but that of their Perſecutors. They put many into Monaſteries, where they experience none of the leaſt Cruelties; Some there are ſo happy as to dye in the midſt of their Torments, others have at laſt ſunk under the Weight of the Temptation, and ſome by the extraordinary Aſſiſtance of Gods Grace, do ſtill ſuſtain it with an Heroick Courage.

Theſe have been the Conſequences of this new Edict in this reſpect; but who would not have believed that the Twelfth Article would have ſhelter'd the reſt of the Reformed; that had a mind ſtill to ſtay in the Kingdom, ſince this Article expreſly aſſures them, that they may live there, continue their Trade, and enjoy their Eſtates, without being troubled or moleſted upon pretence of their Religion. Yet ſee what they have ſince done, and yet do to theſe poor Wretches. They have not recall'd the Dragoons and other Soldiers which they diſpatcht into the Provinces before the Edict: On the contrary, they to this day commit with greater Fury the ſame Inhumanities, which we have before repreſented: beſides this, they have marched them into Provinces, where there were none before, as *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *le Berry*, *Champaigne*, *Nivernois*, *Orleans*, *Beleſſois*, and the Iſle of *France*.

They do the same Violence there, exert the same Fury they do in other Provinces. *Paris* it self, where methinks this Article of the Edict should have been best observed, because so near the Kings Presence, and more immediately under the Government of the Court, *Paris*, I say, was no more spared than the rest of the Kingdom. The very day that the Edict was published, without more delay, the Procurer-General, and some other Magistrates, began to send for Heads of Families to come to their Houses. There they declared to them, that 'twas absolutely the Kings Will that they should change their Religion, that they were no better than the rest of his Subjects, and that if they would not do it willingly, the King would make use of means, which he had ready, to compel them. At the same time they banish'd by Letters under the Privy Seal, all the Elders of the Consistory, together with some others, in whom they found more of Constancy and Resolution; and to disperse them, chose such places as were most remote from Commerce, where they have since used them with a great deal of Cruelty, some complyed, others are yet under Sufferings.

The diligence of the Procurer-General and Magistrates, not succeeding so fully as they wish'd, though Threats and Menaces were not wanting, *Monsieur Seignelay*, Secretary of State, would also try what influence he could have within his Division at *Paris*. For this end, he got together about five or six score Merchants, and others into his House, and after having shut the doors, forthwith presented them with the form of an Abjuration, and commanded them in the Kings Name to sign it; declaring, that they should not stir out of Doors till they had obeyed. The Contents of this Form were, not only that they did renounce the Heresie of *Calvin*, and enter into the Catholick Church, but also that they did this voluntarily, and without being forced or compelled to it. This was done in an Imperious manner, and with an air of Authority, yet there were some that dared to speak, but they were sharply answer'd, That they were not to dispute it, but to obey; so that they all Sign'd before they went out.

To these Methods they added others more terrible, as Prisons, actually seizing of their Effects, and Papers; the taking away of their Children, the separation of Husbands and Wives; and in fine, the great Method, that is to say, Dragoons and Guards. Those that most firmly stood out, they sent to the *Bastile*, and to the

the *Fort l'Evegue*; they confin'd them to their own or others Houſes, where they lay concealed for fear of Diſcovery; they plunder'd thoſe of many others, not ſparing their perſons, juſt as they had done in other places.

Thus the 12*th* Article of the Edict, which promiſed ſome relaxation, and a ſhadow of Liberty, was nothing but an egregious deceit to amuſe the credulous, and keep them from thinking to make their eſcape, a ſnare to catch them with the more eaſe. The Fury ſtill kept its uſual courſe, and was heated to ſuch a degree, that not content with the Deſolations in the Kingdom, it entred even into *Orange*, a Soveraign Principality, where the King of Right has no power, and taking Miniſters away from thence by force, remov'd them into Priſons. Thither the Dragoons were ſent, who committed all kind of miſchief; and by force conſtrained the Inhabitants thereof, both Men, Women and Children, and the very Officers of the Prince to change their Religion. And this is the ſtate of things in the year 1685. and this is the accompliſhment of the dealing which the Clergy has ſhewed us three years ſince, towards the end of their Paſtoral Letter; *You muſt expect miſchiefs more dreadful and intolerable, then all thoſe, which hitherto your Revolts and Schiſms have drawn down upon you.* And truly they have not been worſe than their words. There are ſome in the Kingdom who ſtill continue firm, and their Perſecutions are ſtill continu'd to them. There are invented every day new Torments, againſt thoſe whom force has made to change their Religion, becauſe they are ſtill obſerved to ſigh, and groan under their hard ſervitude; their hearts deteſting what their mouths have profeſt, and their hands ſigned. As to ſuch that have eſcaped into Foreign Countreys, who are at leaſt 150000 perſons, their Eſtates are Confiſcated; this being all the hurt which can be done to them at preſent. I ſay at preſent; for 'tis not to be queſtioned, but our Perſecutors are contriving to extend their Cruelties farther. But we muſt hope in the compaſſions of God, that whatſoever intentions they may have in deſtroying the Proteſtant Religion in all places, he will not permit them to effect their deſigns. The World will ſurely open its Eyes; and this which they now come from doing with a high hand, and a worſe then barbarous Fury, will ſhew not only the Proteſtants, but the wiſe and circumſpect Catholicks, what they are to expect, both one and the other, from ſuch a ſort of People.

In

In effect, he that ſhall give himſelf the leiſure to reflect on the matters of Fact which we come now from relating, which are things certain, and acted in the face of the Sun, he ſhall ſee not only the Proteſtants ſuppreſt, but the King's Honour ſullied, his Countreys damnified; all the Princes of *Europe* intereſſed, and even the Pope himſelf, with his Church and Clergy, ſhamefully diſcredited.

For to begin with the King himſelf: What could be more contrary to his Dignity, then to put him upon breaking his word, and perſwading him that he might with a ſafe Conſcience violate, revoke, and annul ſo ſolemn an Edict as that of *Nantes*.

To palliate in ſome ſort the Violence of this proceeding, they make him ſay in this new Edict, *That the beſt and greateſt part of the Reform'd Religion has imbraced the Catholick; and therefore the execution of the Edict of* Nantes, *and whatſoever elſe has been done in favour of the ſame Religion, remains void.* But is not this an Eluſion unworthy of his Majeſty, ſeeing that if this beſt and greateſt part of his Subjects of the Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick; they have done it by force of Arms, and by the cruel and furious Oppreſſion which his own Troops have laid upon them.

Perhaps one might thus ſpeak, had his Subjects changed their Religion of their own free will, although that in this caſe too, the Priviledges of the Edict continue for thoſe that remain. But after having forced them to change by the horrible inhumanities of his Dragoons; after having deprived them of the Liberty which the Edict gave them; to ſay coldly, that he only revokes the Edict, becauſe it is now uſeleſs, is a Raillery unbefitting ſo great a Prince. For it is as much as if he ſaid, that he was indeed obliged to continue to his Proteſtant Subjects all the Priviledges due to them; but having himſelf overthrown them by a *major* Force, he finds himſelf at preſent lawfully and fairly diſengaged from this Obligation: Which is juſt as if a Father, who himſelf had cut his Childrens Throats, ſhould glory in the being henceforward freed from the care of nouriſhing and protecting them. Are other Kings wont thus to expreſs themſelves in their Edicts?

What they make him moreover ſay, to wit, *That* Henry *the Great, his Grandfather, gave only the Edict of* Nantes *to the Proteſtants, that he might the better effect their re-union to the* Roman *Church*; That *Lewis* the 13*th* alſo, his Father, had the ſame deſign, when

when he gave the Edict of *Nismes*; and that he himself had entred therein at his coming to the Crown, is but a pitiful *Salvo*. But suppose (seeing they are willing we should do so) the truth of this Discourse, and take we it simply, and according to the Letter, in the sense wherein they gave it us, what can we conclude thence, but these following Propositions: That *Henry* the Great, and *Lewis* the 13*th*, gave only the Edicts to our Fathers to deceive them, and with an intent to ruine them afterwards with the greater ease, under the mask of this Fraud. That not being able to do this, being hindred by other affairs, they have committed this important secret to his present Majesty, to the end he should execute it when he met with an opportunity. That his present Majesty entring into the thought of this at his first coming to the Crown, he only confirm'd the Edicts and Declarations of 1643. and 1652. with other advantagious Decrees to the Reformed Religion, but to impose on them the more finely, (lay snares in their way) or if you please, crown them, as they crown'd of old the Sacrifices; That all that has been done against them, since the Peace of the *Pirenees*, till this time, according to the abridgment which we have made of it, has been only the execution of a Project, but of a Project far more ancient than we imagine, seeing we must date it from the Edict of *Nantes*, and ascend up to *Henry* the Great: In fine, That what has been till now, has been a great mystery, but is not one at present; seeing the King by this new Edict discovers it to all the World, that he may be applauded for it.

Will it not be acknowledged that the Enemies of *France*, who are willing to discredit the Conduct of its Kings, and render them odious to the World, have now an happy opportunity. *Henry* the Great gives his Edict to the Protestants with the greatest Solemnity imaginable, he gives it them as a Recompence of their Services; he promises solemnly to observe it; and as if this was not enough, he binds himself thereunto with an Oath; he executes it to the utmost of his Power, and they peaceably enjoy'd it to the end of his Reign: yet all this is but a meer Snare, for they are to be Dragoon'd at a proper time: But being himself surprized by Death, he could not do it, but leaves it in charge to *Lewis* the 13*th* his Son. *Lewis* the Thirteenth ascends the Throne, issues out his Declaration immediately, that he acknowledges the Edict of *Nantes* as perpetual and irrevocable, it needing not a new Confirma-

firmation, and that he would Religiously observe every Article of it, and therefore sends Commissioners to see it actually executed. When he begins a War, he protests he designs not at Religion, and in effect he permits the full Liberty of it, in those very Towns he takes by Assault: He gives his Edict of *Nismes*, as the Edict of a Triumphant Prince, yet declares therein he understands, that of *Nantes* should be inviolably kept, and shows himself to the last as good as his Word. But this is only intended to lull the Protestants asleep, in expectation of a favourable occasion to destroy them. *Lewis* the Fourteenth, at his coming to the Crown confirms the Edict, and declares, That he will maintain the Reformed in all their Priviledges; he afterwards affirms in another Declaration, how highly he is satisfied in their Services; and mentions his design of making them to enjoy their Rights. But this is but a meer amusement, and an artifice to intrap them, the better to colour over the project of ruining them at a convenient time. What a Character now of the Kings of *France* will this afford, to its Enemies, and foreign Nations; and what confidence do they think, will be henceforward put in their Promises and Treaties; for if they deal thus with their own Subjects, if they caress them only to ruine them, what may Strangers expect from 'em. Consider we a while what they make the King say, That at his first coming to the Crown, he was in the design which he now comes from executing. They would say without doubt, from the time he actually took in hand the Reins of Government; for he was too young before, to enter personally on any design of this nature: he enter'd thereon then precisely at the time, when the Civil Wars were ended. But what does this mean, but that he undertook this design, at the very time when the Protestants came from rendring him the most important Service Subjects were ever capable of. They came from rendring him the highest Testimonies of Loyalty, when the greatest part of his other Subjects had taken up Arms against him. They had vigorously opposed his Enemies progress; rejected the most advantagious offers, kept Towns for him, yea whole Provinces; receiv'd his Servants and Officers into their Bosoms, when they could not find safety elsewhere; sacrificed their Estates to him, their Lives, their Fortunes; and in a word, done all with such a Zeal, as becomes faithful Subjects in so dangerous a conjuncture. And this is the time when the King enters on the design of destroying

ſtroying and extirpating them. This ſo confirms the Truth of what we ſaid in the beginning, that it puts it out of all queſtion, that the *Project* of their Deſtruction was grounded on the Services they had rendred the King. *Do Chriſtian Ethics* allow theſe moſt unchriſtian *Policies*? Is it not a ſtrange thing, that we muſt be taught this important Secret, and all *Europe* beſides; for although the *Proteſtants* have done nothing in this occaſion but their *Duty*, it could never be imagined their *Duty* ſhould be made their Crime, and their Ruine ſhould ſpring from whence ſhould come the Safety. God has brought Light out of *Darkneſs*, but the unchriſtian *Politicks* of *France*, on the contrary, has brought *Darkneſs* out of Light. However they cannot deny but that in this new Edict, the King is made to ſay, *He has entred on the deſign to deſtroy the Proteſtant Party, in the very time wherein they have ſignaliz'd and diſtinguiſht themſelves with great ſucceſs for the intereſt of the Crown*, which will furniſh perhaps matter enough to thinking Men for Reflexion, as well within as without the Kingdom; and will ſhew them what uſe is made of Services, and what Recompence is to be expected for them.

But we ſhall ſay no more of the Expreſſions of the new Edict, but rather conſider the matter of it. Was ever a worſe and harder uſage than that which we have ſuffered for the ſpace of Twenty Years, which have been employed in forming the late Tempeſt which has fallen upon us. It has been a continual Storm of *Decrees*, *Edicts*, *Declarations*, Orders, Condemnation of Churches, *Deſolation* of Temples, Civil and Criminal *Proceſſes*, Impriſonments, Baniſhments, Pennances, *Pecuniary* Mults, Privation of Offices and Employs, depriving *Parents* of their Children, and all thoſe other *Perſecutions* which we have already briefly ſum'd up. We are told on one hand, that the King would continue to us the Edict of *Nants*, and he delivered himſelf on ſeveral occaſions to that Effect; and on the other hand we were made to ſuffer in our Eſtates, our Reputations, our *Perſons*, our Families, in our Religion, and our Conſciences, and all by unjuſt and indirect ways; by unheard of Inventions, by Oppreſſions, and publick Vexation, and ſometime under-hand *Dealings*; and all this under the Vail of the Kings Authority, and becauſe this was his good pleaſure. We know very well the Authority of Kings, and the Reſpect and Submiſſion with which we ſhould receive their Orders. And therefore have we, during all theſe unſup-

portable things, a Patience, and an Obedience so remarkable, that it has been an Admiration of the Catholicks themselves, our Countrymen. But it must be acknowledged that those who put his Majesty on dealing thus with us, or have used his Name and Authority for this, could not do him otherwise a greater dishonor than they have done. For after all, those Kings who would have themselves esteemed for their Justice and Equity, govern not their Subjects after this manner. They are not for putting all to an uncertainty, filling all places with Lamentation and Terror. They seek not their satisfaction in the Tears, and Groans of their innocent People, nor are they pleased with keeping their Subjects in a perpetual Agitation. They love not to have their Names mention'd with terror, nor meditate continual designs of extirpating those, who give constant and unexceptionable Proofs of their Loyalty, much less to invent cruel projects, which like Mines, in their time shall destroy their own Natural Subjects; for what else have been these successive Declarations, Counter-Orders, and revocative Edicts.

There are three things, very remarkable, in this whole Affair, the First is, that as long as they have been only in the way, the true Authors of the Persecution have not concealed themselves, but the King, as much as they could: 'Tis true, the Decrees, Edicts, and Declarations, and other things, went under the name of his Majesty; but at the request of the Agents, and Factors for the Clergy: And whilst they were busied in these matters, the King declared openly his Intention of maintaining the Edicts, and that 'twas abuses which he design'd to correct. The Second is, that when they came to the last Extremities, and to open force, then they have concealed themselves as much as they could, set forth the King at his full Length. There was nothing heard but these kind of Discourses, *The King will have it so, the King has taken it in hand, the King proceeds further than the Clergy desires*, by these two means they have had the Address to be only charg'd with the lesser parts of the cruelties, and to lay the most violent, and odious part at the Kings door. The Third thing which we should remark is, that the better to obtain their Ends, they have made it their business to perswade the King, that this Work would Crown him with Glory, which is a horrid abuse of his credulity, an abuse so much the greater, by how much they would not have themselves thought the Authors of this Council; and when any particular Person of them are ask'd this day, *What they think of it*, there are few of them but condemn it. In

In effect, what more falſe an Idea could they give to his Majeſty of Glory, than to make it conſiſt in ſurprizing a poor People, diſperſt over all his Kingdom, and living ſecurely under his Wings and the Remains of the Edict of *Nants*; and who could not imagine there were any Intentions of depriving them of the Liberty of their Conſciences, of ſurprizing and overwhelming them in an inſtant, with a numerous Army, to whoſe diſcretion they are delivered; and who tell them that they muſt either by fair means or foul, become *Roman* Catholicks, this being the Kings will and pleaſure. What a falſer Notion of Glory could they offer him, than the putting him in the place of God, making the Faith and Religion of Men to depend upon his Authority, and that hence forward it muſt be ſaid in his Kingdom, *I don't believe becauſe I am perſwaded of it, but I believe, becauſe the King would have me do it*; which to ſpeak properly, is, that I believe nothing, and that I'le be a *Turk*, or a *Jew*, or whatever the King pleaſes. What falſer Idea of Glory, then to force from Mens Mouths by Violence, and a long Series of Torments; a *Profeſſion*, which the Heart abhors, and for which one ſighs night and day, crying continually to God for Mercy. What Glory is there in inventing new ways of *Perſecutions*, unknown to former Ages; which indeed do not bring Death along with them, but keep Men alive to ſuffer, that they may overcome their *Patience* and Conſtancy by Cruelties, which are above Humane Strength to undergo? What Glory is there in not contenting themſelves to force thoſe who remain in his Kingdom, but to forbid them to leave it, and keep them under a double Servitude, *viz.* both of Soul and Body? What Glory is there in keeping his Priſons full of innocent Perſons, who are charged with no other fault, than ſerving God according to the beſt of their Knowledge, and for this to be expos'd to the Rage of the *Dragoons*, or condemned to the Gallies, and executions on Body and Goods? Will theſe Cruelties render his Majeſties Name lovely in his Hiſtory, to the Catholick or *Proteſtant* World?

But we ſhould be very loath to exaggerate any thing, which may violate the Reſpect due to ſo great a *Prince*; but we do not think it a failure in our *Duty*, fairly to repreſent how far theſe refined *Politicians* have really intereſs'd his Honour, in the ſad Misfortunes wherein they have plunged us, and how Criminal they have thereby made themſelves towards him. They have committed no

leſs Miſdemeanours againſt their Country, of which they are Members, and for which a Man would think they ſhould have ſome conſideration. Not to ſpeak here of the great number of Perſons of all Ages, Sexes and Qualities, which they have cut off from it by their fierce Tempers; although perhaps this Loſs be greater, than they were willing to imagine. Its certain, that *France* is a very Populous Country, but when theſe Feavourish Fits ſhall be over, and they ſhall in cold Blood conſider what they have done, they will find theſe Diminutions to be no matter of Triumph; for 'tis not poſſible, that ſo many Subſtantial People, ſo many intire Families, who diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Arts, in the Sciences, Civil and Military, can leave a Kingdom without one day being miſſed: at preſent, whilſt they rejoyce in their Spoils, poſſeſs themſelves of the Houſes and Eſtates, this loſs is not felt; 'tis recompenſed by Booty, but it will not be always ſo: Neither ſhall we inſiſt here on that almoſt general Interruption of Traffick, which theſe moſt *Unchriſtian Perſecutors* have cauſed in the Principal Towns of the State; although this be no ſmall Miſchief: The Proteſtants made up a good part of the Trade, as well within the Kingdom as without, and were therein ſo mixt with the Catholicks, that their Affairs were in a manner inſeparable. They dealt as it were in Common, when theſe Oppreſſions came upon them; and what Confuſions have they not produced? How many induſtrious meaſures have they broken? How many honeſt deſigns have they not diſappointed? How many Manufactures ruined? How many Bankrupts made? and how many Families reduced to Beggary? But this is what the Oppreſſors little trouble themſelves about; they have their Bread gained to their Mouths, they live in wantonneſs and eaſe; and whilſt others dye with Hunger, their Revenues are aſcertain'd to them. But this hinders not the Body of the Eſtate to ſuffer, both in its Honour and Profit; and we may truly ſay, that Four Civil Wars could not have produced ſo much Miſchief, as time will ſhew to ſprink from this Perſecution.

But we will leave the conſequence of this affair to time, and only ſay, That the Edict of *Nantes*, being a fundamental Law of the Kingdom; and an agreement between two parties, by a reciprocal acceptation under the peaceable Reign of *Henry* the Great, by the publick Faith, and by mutual Oaths, as we have already ſeen; this muſt certainly be of ill example to the intereſt of the State,

State: That after having made a thousand infractions of it, it must be at length revok'd, cancel'd, and annul'd, at the motion of a Cabal, who abuse their interest; and hereby make themselves fit for enterprising, and executing any thing. After this Violation, what can henceforward be thought firm and inviolable in *France*. I speak not of particular mens affairs, but of general establishments, Royal Companies, Courts of Justice, and all other ranks of men interested in Society, even the very rights of the Crown, and form of Government. There are in the Kingdom a great many thinking men, I mean not your Poets, and such like kind of Flatterers, who make Verses, Orations, Panegyricks, and Sermons too for Preferments and Benefices; but I speak of solid and judicious persons, who see into the consequences of things, and know well how to judge of them: shall we think that these men, see not what is too visible, that the State is pierc'd through and through, by the same blow given the Protestants; and that such a open revocation of the Edict, leaves nothing firm or sacred. It's to no purpose to alledge distinctions in the matter, and say that the pretended reform'd Religion, was odious to the State, and therefore was thus undertaken. For not to mention the dangerousness of the example; as to the general aversion to our Religion in the minds of the Catholicks, it is certain, that excepting the Faction of the Bigots, and what they call the propagators of the Faith; neither the Commons, nor great People, have any animosity against us; but on the contrary, do bemoan our misfortunes. Not to touch further on this, who knows not what an easie matter it is to run down any cause, or render it odious or indifferent in the minds of the People. There are never wanting reasons and pretences, in matters of this nature; one party is set up against another; and that is called the State, right or wrong, which is the prevailing one: like as in Religion, not the best and honestest, *but the powerfullest, and boldest part, are termed the Church.* We must not judge of these things then from their matter, but their form. Now if ever there was since the World stood, a matter authentick and irrevocable, it was the Edict of *Nantes*; To revoke and cancel it, is to set up ones self above our obligations to God, as well as to Men; 'tis to declare openly, that there are no longer any ties or promises in the world. And this is no more then the wise will easily comprehend, and I doubt not but they have done it already.

Some

Some perhaps may make an objection on this occasion, which 'twill be good to answer, which is, that as the Edict, consider it how we will, is become only a Law of State by *Henry* the Great's Authority so it may likewise be revok'd and annul'd by *Lewis* the 14*th* his Grandson and Successor. For things may be ended by the same means they have bin begun. If *Henry* the Great, has had the power to change the form of governing the State, by introducing a new Law; why has not *Lewis* the 14*th* the same power to alter this form, and annul whatsoever his predecessor has done? But this objection will soon be answer'd, by considering it's built upon a false principal, and offers a falser consequence. It is not the single Authority of *Henry* the Great which has establish'd the Edict. The Edict is a Decree of his Justice, and an accord or transaction that past between the Catholicks and the Reformists. Authoriz'd by the publick Faith of the whole Estate, and seal'd with the seal of an Oath, and ratified by the execution of it; now this renders the Edict inviolable, and sets it above the reach of *Henry*'s Successors; and therefore they can be only the Depositaries and Executors of it, and not the Masters to make it depend on their wills. *Henry* the Great never employ'd the force of Arms to make the Catholicks consent to it; and though since his death, under the minority of *Lewis* the 13*th*. there have bin Assemblies of the States General, the Edict has remain'd in full force; 'twas then, as we have already said, a fundamental Law of the Kingdom, which the King could not touch. But supposing this were not a work grounded on the bare Authority of *Henry*, which is false, it does not therefore follow, that his present Majesty can revoke it. The Edict is a Royal Promise, which *Henry* the Great made to the Reformists of his Kingdom, as well for himself as his Successors for ever; as we have already seen; and consequently this is a condition or hereditary Debt, charged on himself and Posterity. Moreover, it is not true, that *Henry* the Great, has changed any thing in the Government of the State, when he gave Liberty of Conscience to his Subjects; for this Liberty is matter of right, and more inviolable than all Edicts, seeing that it is a right of Nature. He has permitted a publick exercise of the Reformed Religion; but this exercise was established in the Kingdom before his Edict, and if he has enlarged the priviledges of the Reformed, as without doubt he has, he did not do it without the Consent and Approbation

provation of the State, and has herein violated nothing of his lawful engagements. But 'tis not the same with *Lewis* the 14th. who of his own pure Authority, makes a real and fundamental Change, against the concurrence of one part of his Estate, and without the consulting the other; thereby violating his own Engagements, those of his Kingdom, and even the Laws of Nature too. In fine, if we consider what means have been us'd to arrive at the Revocation in question, how shall a man not acknowledge the State is sensibly interested therein. They are not contented to suppress the Religious Assemblies, and to null the Protestants priviledges by unjust Decrees; but they also send them Soldiers *to dispute points of Religion with them*; They are Sack't like People taken by Assault, forced in their Consciences; and for this purpose, Hell it self is let loose upon them; and *this is the effects of a Military, and Arbitrary Government, regulated neither by Justice, Reason, nor Humanity.* Can it be thought, that, *France* will be at ease in this manner, or that wise people will think this an equitable way of governing? There needs only another design, another passion to satisfie, another vengeance to execute; and then, we be to them who shall oppose it; for the Dragoons will not forget their Office.

To these two Reflections, which respect the *French* King and his States, we may add a third, which will have regard to the Interests of Kings, Princes, and other powers of *Europe*, as well of one as of the other Religion. We shall not be much mistaken, if we say, that they have a common and general concern herein; inasmuch as these skilful Artists in misery, do as much as they can to trouble the good understanding that is betwixt them and their People. We are perswaded, that their wise and just Government will, in this respect, put them beyond all fear: but this hinders not examples of this nature, from being always mischievous, and naturally tending to beget in the minds of the Vulgar, (who commonly judge only of things in general) suspitions and distrusts of their Soveraigns, as if they dream'd of nothing but devouring their Subjects, and delivering them up to the Discretion, or rather, the Fury of their Soldiers. The greater moderation and Justice that Princes have, the less they are obliged to those who furnish people with matter for such dangerous thoughts, which may produce very ill Effects.

Beside,

Beſide, Is it not certain, that the Princes and States of *Europe*, cannot without a great deal of pleaſure ſee *France*, which makes ſo great a Figure in the affairs of the World, and gives them ſo powerful an influence, now put her ſelf in ſuch a condition, as that no juſt Meaſures can be taken from her? For after ſo ſcandalous and publick a violation of the word of three Kings, and of the publick Faith, what Credit can be given for the future, to her *Promiſes* or Treaties? It will not be ſufficient to ſay, that they will have no force but what Intereſt inſpires; but that they will hereafter depend on the Intereſt or Capriciouſneſs of a ſort of Heady People, that will give nothing either to the Laws of Prudence or Equity, but manage all by force. If they have had the power, to do within the Kingdom what they have lately put in execution, what will they not do as to Affairs without? If they have not ſpared their own Country-men, with whom they had daily Commerce, who were ſerviceable to them, will they ſpare the unknown? Will they have more reſpect to Truces or Conventions of four days Tranſaction, than to an Edict of an hundred years continuance, and that the moſt Auguſt and Solemn that ever was which yet they made no other uſe of, then to amuſe a People, and to involve them more ſurely in an utter *Deſolation*? Methinks they have reſolv'd to bring things to this paſs. That there being no more Faith to be had in *France*, all her Neighbours ſhould be continually upon their Guard againſt her, and the more ſo when ſhe promiſes, then when ſhe threatens; more in Peace then in War; ſo that there is no more hopes of being at quiet, but what the Surety of Hoſtages, or the diminution of her Forces can give.

This being ſo in reſpect of all Princes and States in general, what may the Proteſtant Princes and States in particular think, but that it is the deſign of *France* to ruine them all, and to make no ſtop till ſhe has devoured them? Every body knows, that the Proteſtant Princes underſtand their Intereſts well enough, to be able to diſcern them through the Clouds, wherewith they would cover them; and 'tis not doubted but they ſee, that this is a beginning or Eſſay, which *France* expects ſhortly to give the laſt ſtroke to. The Court there has ſuffer'd it ſelf to be poſſeſs'd with groſs Bigotry, and falſe Zeal of Catholicism. 'Tis the *Genius a-la mode*; each there is become a perſecutor, even to Fire and Sword; and there are ſome perſwaded, that this ſhall weigh

weigh down the Ballance. Vain Glory is no ſmall Ingredient in this deſign, Policy has her Proſpects and Myſteries in it too; and as theſe Proſpects have no Bounds, ſo her Myſteries want not invisible Springs, and ſurpriſing ways, which ſhe will joyn when ſhe pleaſes to the Power of Arms. She thinks the Seaſon is ripe, and ſhe needs only to dare. The eaſineſs ſhe has found in making Conqueſts and Converſions ſwells her Courage, and already ſome talk of nothing but a further progreſs in ſo fair a way. 'Tis to be hoped that Proteſtant Princes and States will from thence draw their juſt Concluſions.

As to Catholick *Princes* and States, they have too ſagacious Judgments, not to ſee how much they ſhare in this Affair. It will be made uſe of to break the good underſtanding which is betwixt them and the *Proteſtants*, by amuſing thoſe with the fair Pretext of the Catholick Religion, and cunningly inſpiring theſe with Jealouſies of a general Deſign to deſtroy them. If the Catholick *Princes* and States remove not theſe Suſpitions, if they ſuffer *France* ſtill to aggrandize her ſelf by her pretended Zeal for Catholiciſm, which at the bottom is but a Maſk, they may already be aſſured, that they are loſt. It will ſignifie little to ſay, *We are good Catholicks as well as you*, this will not ſecure them from *Dragoons*, all that will not take the Yoke ſhall be Hereticks; nay, worſe than an Heretick; for now the greateſt Hereſie is not to ſubmit; *Spain*, *Germany* and *Italy* already know this in ſome meaſure.

But it will not be thought a *Paradox*, if, to all that we have ſaid, we add, That the *Pope* himſelf, and the whole Body of the *Roman* Church, find themſelves ſenſibly intereſs'd in the Perſecution of us. And yet we will ſay nothing herein, but what is evident Truth, and which the wiſeſt of the *Roman* Catholicks muſt agree to. For is it not the worſt Character that can be given of the *Roman* Clergy, to repreſent them as an Order of Men, who not only cannot endure any thing that is not ſubject to them in a Religious, but alſo in Civil Society; as Men that are not content to Anathematize all that diſpleaſe them, but deſign nothing ſo much as to exterminate them, not only to exterminate them, but alſo to force their Conſciences, and inſpire their Opinions; and propagate their way of Worſhip by the knocking Arguments of *Swords* and *Staves*; as an Order of Men, who neither Faith nor Juſtice, who promiſe only to deceive, who for

a while curb their fury only, that afterwards they may the more insult, that in *Peace* as well as *War*, contrive only to overturn and destroy; that make Allyances only to surprize, and finding themselves more powerful, deny those they have surprized the Liberty to escape. These are the exact Features and Colours by which the *Roman* Clergy may be easily known, if we judge of them by the persecution in *France*, the like whereof was never seen to this day. The *Egyptians* and *Assyrians* once persecuted the *Israelites*, but forced them not to embrace the Worship of their Idols; they contented themselves with making them Slaves, without doing violence to their Consciences. The Heathens and the *Jews* persecuted the primitive Christians, forced their Consciences indeed, but they had never granted them an Edict, nor by persecuting them did violate the publick Faith, nor hindred them to make their escape by Flight. The *Arrians* cruelly persecuted the Orthodox, but besides that, they went not so far, as to make the common sort of people sign formal Abjurations; there was no Edict or Concordat between the Two Communions. *Innocent* the 3d. by his *Croysades*, persecuted the *Waldenses*, and *Albigenses*, but these people also had no Edict. *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, furiously persecuted the *Jews*, but he gave them leave to depart out of his Kingdom, and they had no Edict. It was the same with those Remains of the *Moors*, who had setled themselves in some *Cantons* of the Kingdom of *Granada*, they were defeated in a War, and commanded to retire into the *Country* from whence their Ancestors came. In the last Age the Duke of *Alva* exercised dreadful *Cruelties* upon the *Protestants* of the Seventeen *Provinces*, but he did not hinder them from flying, nor violated any Edict; and at the worst, death was their Release. The Inquisition is to this day in *Spain* and *Italy*, but they are Countries, in which no Religion, besides the *Roman*, was ever permitted by Edicts, and if the Inquisitors may be accused of Violence and Cruelty, yet they cannot be convicted of Perfidiousness.

But in this last Persecution of *France*, there are Five things that strike the Mind with horror; they make the Consciences and Religion of Men to depend Soveraignly upon the Will of a King, they violate a Faith Authentickly sworn to, they force Men to be Hypocrites, and wicked, by seeming to embrace a Religion which they abhor; they prohibit all Flights or retiring out of the Kingdom; they do not put to death, but preserve Life to oppress it

with

with longer Torments. If after this the Court of *Rome* and its Clergy, diſperſed over the reſt of *Europe*, diſclaim not ſo odious and ſo criminal a Conduct; if they condemn it not, it will be an indelible Stain to the Honour of their Religion. Not only Proteſtants, who are of a different Communion, but alſo in an infinite number of their own *Catholicks*, will be mightily ſcandaliz'd thereat: nay, even the *Turks* and *Jews* and *Pagans* will riſe up in Judgment againſt them. They may already know what they have bin condemned of, in what paſſed in the Council of *Conſtance*, concerning *John Huſs*, and *Jerom* of *Prague*, whom they put to Death, notwithſtanding the ſafe Conduct of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*; but there is ſomething greater here: There only Two Men were concerned, here more than 1500000. thoſe they put to Death, and if they had done the ſame to theſe, they would have embraced their Death with Joy and Comfort. The Council thought its Authority greater than *Sigiſmund's*, but there cannot be produced one above that which has eſtabliſh'd our Edict.

We are not ignorant of the different Methods which the Perſecutors take to ſhelter themſelves from publick Condemnation. Some take a ſpeedy courſe to deny the Fact; and to perſwade the World, *That Force and Violence have had no ſhare in the Converſions, but that they were ſoft, and calm, and voluntary; and that if there were any* Dragoons *concerned therein, 'twas becauſe the Reformed themſelves deſired them, that they might have a handſom pretence to change their Religion.* Was there ever ſeen ſo much Impudence? What will they not deny, who can deny what's done in the Face of the Sun, and what a whole Kingdom from one end of it to the other hath ſeen, and to this day ſees? For in the beginning of the year 1686. whilſt I am compoſing this ſad Rehearſal, they continue to exerciſe in *France* the ſame Rage, that ended the preceding year, the ſame *Dragoons* both in Cities and Countries execute the ſame Fury againſt ſome lamentable Remains of Proteſtants, who will not fall down and worſhip.

They are uſed like Rebels in their Perſons, in their Eſtates, in their Wives, and in their Children; and if there be any difference, 'tis in this that their ſufferings are ſtill increaſing. Yet if we will believe the Clergy, haranguing the King, and the Biſhop of *Valence* their Speaker, he tells his Majeſty how miraculous his Reign is, ſeeing ſuch infinite numbers of Converſions are made to the *Roman* Church, without violences and Arms; much leſs,

faith he, *by the force of your Edicts*, as by the example of your *exemplary Piety*. If we will believe the greateſt part of the Abjurations which theſe poor Oppreſt People, are forc'd to make, they ſpeak indeed the ſame ſence, *viz. That they have done this without being conſtrain'd thereto.* Thus is the Credulity of the publick impos'd on: They have Seeds of Impoſture ſown at their Feet, which are to grow with the time. Poſterity who ſhall ſee theſe Records, will believe they contain the truth; Here, ſay they, is what has bin told the King, who muſt not have falſhoods offer'd him: Here is the proper acts and deeds of thoſe that were converted. Why will not then *Poſterity* believe it, ſeeing that at preſent, there are indeed people impudent enough, or to ſpeak better, paid well enough to publiſh it in ſtrange Countries, and there are found credible perſons enough to believe it. But I pray what likelihood is there, that 150000 perſons already gone out of *France*, without any thing conſtraining them to it, ſhould leave their Houſes, their Lands of Inheritance, their Effects, and ſeveral their Wives and Children, for to wander about the World, and lead a miſerable Life for a humour. Is there any likelihood, that Perſons of Quality of both Sexes, who enjoyed 10, 15, 20, 30 thouſand Livers *per annum*, would abandon theſe their Eſtates, not only for themſelves, but for their Succeſſors; expoſe themſelves to the perils, and incommodiouſneſs of long Journies, and reduce themſelves in a manner to Beggary; which is a condition the moſt inſupportable in the world, to Perſons of Quality; and all this without any reaſon, without any occaſion? What likelihood that this 150 thouſand perſons who have already eſcap'd, ſome of 'em into *Switzerland*, others into *Germany*, ſome into *Denmark*, others into *Holland*, ſome into *Suedeland*, and others into *England*, and ſome into *America*, without ſeeing or knowing one another, yet have agreed to tell the ſame lie, and to ſay with one voice, That the *Proteſtants* are cruelly perſecuted in *France*; and that by unheard of Severities they are forc'd to change their Religion; altho' there is no ſuch matter? Is it likely that the Embaſſadors and Envoys of Foreign Princes, ſhould lye all of them in conſort, in telling them this news, wherein there is no truth? But I pray, if in *France* the Proteſtants thus voluntarily, and without conſtraint change their Religion, & that the Dragoons are cal'd in only as their good friends, whence happens this ſo ſtrict & general Guard on the Frontiers, to hinder *Peoples* departure? How is it that the

Priſons

Priſons of the Kingdom are cram'd, with Fugitives ſtopt by the way? Whence is it, that thoſe who have chang'd, are watch'd with ſuch great care to hinder their flight; to the obliging them to depoſit ſums of money to ſecure them from the ſuſpition of it? This muſt be an Epidemical Diſtemper that has ſeiz'd on his Majeſties Subjects, that ſhall make them fly thus without reaſon? But is not this a fine cover, to ſay that the Proteſtants have themſelves call'd in the Dragoons, to have the better pretence to change their Religion? It is about 10 or more years ſince there was a Bankſet up to traffick for Souls. Mr. *Peliſon*, has for a long time bin the great dealer of *Paris*, in this infamous Trade of purchaſing Converts. Theſe Converſions have of late, bin the only way of gaining applauſe, and recompences at Court, and in a word, a means of raiſing ones Fortune; and yet we muſt be told, that inſtead of being Converted by theſe eaſie ways, we had rather chooſe the help of Dragoons, that is, of being pillag'd. At leaſt let any one tell us, why ſince theſe pretended voluntary Converſions, the People not willing to go to Maſs, they have bin obliged to ſend them Troops, and uſe them with the ſame ſeverity as before.

This is ſo groſs and palpable an untruth, that others have undertaken to defend theſe Violences, as being naturally of the genuine Spirit of the Catholick Church; and for this purpoſe, they have continually in their mouths that paſſage of the Goſpel, *compelle intrare*, compel them to come in, and the perſecution which the Orthodox of *Africk* offer'd the *Donatiſts*, &c.

Were this a place to diſpute againſt theſe furious Divines, we could eaſily ſhow 'em the vanity of theſe allegations; but we ſhall rather ask 'em, whether the Jews and Pagans had agreed upon an Edict with the Apoſtles, when our Saviour ſays to them, *compel them to come in.* Has St. *Auguſtin* ever written, for he is cited in this matter, That we ought to be perfidious towards thoſe whom we eſteem as Hereticks, when we promis'd to live with 'em like Brethren and fellow Citizens. The Donatiſts, had they any Edicts which would ſhelter 'em from the inſults of the Orthodox? If we yield to this deteſtable Divinity, what will become of all us Chriſtians? For in ſhort, *the Papiſt is as much an Heretick to the Proteſtants, as the Proteſtants are to the Papiſt*; yet they live together in peace, on the Faith of Alliances, Treaties and Promiſes. But theſe publick Peſts as much as in them lies have brought all things into confuſion, and a *State of War.* They

arm,

arm the Catholicks againſt the *Proteſtants*, teaching the Catholicks by this example, that their Religion obliges him to betray and ſurpriſe the *Proteſtants*, when they can do it unpuniſh'd; and knock out their Brains if they will not change their Religion. They arm the Proteſtant againſt the Catholick; for after all, what Peace and Society can we have with People, who not only make no Conſcience to break their Faith; but on the contrary, make it a caſe of Conſcience to break it, when they ſhall find occaſion? Thus have they by their Dragoons deſolated a Kingdom, and plunder'd above a 100 thouſand Families. Do we think this method, is pleaſing to him, whom we both own to be the Author of our Faith; he has ſaid, *That he will not ſuffer Hell Gates to ruine his Church*; but he has not ſaid, he will open Hell Gates for the propagating his Church. Now if there were any thing that looks like the Gates of Hell, it is the perſecutions of *France*.

Whatſoever Antipathy there may be between the See of *Rome* and us, we will not believe that the preſent *Pope* has had any part, or that the Storm has fallen on us from him. We know he is a mild *Prince*, and his temper leads to more moderate Councils than thoſe of his Predeceſſors. Moreover we know, the Clergy of *France* do not always conſult him in what they undertake; and we have had often offered to us, what has bin done againſt *Rome*, to induce us to ſubmit our ſelves to the King's will in theſe other matters; and how ſmall a deference is paid to its Authority. So that we hope the Pope himſelf, conſidering us ſtill as Men and Chriſtians, will condole us, and blame the methods uſed againſt us, had he no other reaſon than the intereſt of Religion. *Perhaps one day, it will be our turn to blame that which will be taken againſt him.*

However, 'tis certain the Proteſtants of *France* are the moſt fit objects of publick compaſſion, the world ever knew. Some ſigh and lament under a hard Slavery, which they would willingly change for Irons in *Algiers* or *Turkie*. For there they would not be forced to turn *Mahometans*, and might ſtill entertain ſome hopes of liberty by the way of ranſom Others are wandering about ſtrange Countries, ſtript of their Eſtates, ſeparated in all probability, for ever from their Parents, their Relations and Friends, whom they have left in the moſt doleful condition imaginable. Husbands have left their Wives, and Wives their Husbands; Fathers their Children, and Children their Fathers. We have

ſeen

ſeen our Eſtates vaniſh in a moment, our honeſt ways of living, our hopes, our Inheritances.

We have ſcarcely any thing left us but our miſerable Lives, and they are ſupported by the Charity of our *Chriſtian Brethren.*

Yet amongſt all theſe Afflictions we are not deſtitute of Comfort; we, if ever any did, do truly ſuffer for Conſcience ſake; the Malice of our *Perſecutors* not being able to charge us with the leaſt Miſdemeanour. We have ſerved our King and the State with Zeal and Faithfulneſs. We have ſubmitted to the Laws and to Magiſtrates; and for our Fellow-Citizens, they have no reaſon to complain of us. We have for Twenty years together ſuffered with an unexemplary patience all theſe furious and dreadful Storms aforementioned. And when in *Vivarets* and *Cevennes*, ſome have thought themſelves bound in Conſcience to preach on the Ruines of their Temples illegally demoliſht, their ſmall number, which were but a handful of Men, Women and Children, has only ſerved to ſtir up more the Reſignation and Obedience of our whole *Body.* In theſe latter Storms we have been like Sheep, innocent and without defence. We then comfort our ſelves in the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and our peaceable *Deportment* under it.

But we comfort our ſelves likewiſe in the *Chriſtian* Compaſſion ſhewed us by Forrein *Princes*, and more eſpecially of his Majeſty of *England*, who has received us into his Countries, ſuccoured and relieved us, and recommended our diſtreſſed Condition to all his Subjects; and we have found in them not only new Maſters, or the Affections of new Friends, but of real *Parents* and *Brethren.* And as theſe bowels of Commiſeration have been as *Balm* to our Wounds, ſo we ſhall never loſe the remembrance of it, and hope we nor our Children ſhall ever do any thing, by Gods Grace, unworthy any of theſe their protections.

All our Affliction then is, to ſee our Religion oppreſſed in the Kingdom of *France*; ſo many Churches wherein God was daily ſerved according to the ſimplicity of the Goſpel, demoliſhed, ſo many Flocks diſpers'd, ſo many poor Conſciences ſighing and groaning under their *Bondage*; ſo many *Children* deprived of the lawful Education of their *Parent*; but we hope that at length the ſame God who heard heretofore the Sighs of his *People* in the *Servitude* of *Egypt*, will alſo hear at this time the *Cries* of his Faithful Servants. We call not for Fire from Heaven, *We are for no reſiſtance*, we only pray that God would touch the Hearts of

of our *Perſecuters*, that they may repent, and be ſaved together with us. We entreat ſuch a deliverance, as he in his Wiſdom ſhall think fitting.

However 'twill be no Offence to God nor Good Men to leave this Writing to the World, as a Proteſtation made before him, and them againſt theſe Violences; more eſpecially againſt the Edict of 1685. containing the Revocation of that of *Nants*, it being in its own Nature inviolable, irrevocable, and unalterable. We may, I ſay, complain amongſt other things againſt the worſe than inhumane Cruelties exerciſed on dead Bodies, when they are drag'd along the Streets at the Horſe Tayls, and dig'd out, and denyed Sepulchers. We cannot but complain of the Cruel Orders to part with our Children, and ſuffer them to be *Baptized*, and brought up by our Enemies. But above all, againſt the impious and deteſtable practiſe, now in vogue, of making Religion to depend on the Kings pleaſure, on the will of a Mortal *Prince*, and of treating perſeverance in the Faith with the odious name of Rebellion: This is to make a God of Man, and to run back into the Heatheniſh pride and flattery amongſt the *Romans*; or an authoriſing of Atheiſm or groſs Idolatry. In fine, we commit our Complaints, and all our Intereſts into the Hands of that *Providence*, which brings Good out of Evil, and which is above the Underſtanding of Mortals, whoſe Houſes are in the *Duſt*.

AN

An EDICT of the French KING, Prohibiting all Publick Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion in His Kingdom.

LEWES, *by the Grace of God, King of* France *and of* Navarre, *to all present and to come, Greeting. King* Henry *the Great, Our Grandfather of Glorious Memory, desiring to prevent, that the Peace which he had procured for his Subjects, after the great Losses they had sustained, by the long continuance of Civil and Forreign Wars, might not be disturbed by occasion of the pretended Reformed Religion, as it had been during the Reigns of the Kings his Predecessors, had by his Edict given at* Nantes, *in the Month of* April, 1598. *Regulated the Conduct which was to be observed with Respect to those of the said Religion, the places where they might publickly exercise the same, appointed extraordinary Judges, to administer Justice to them; and lastly, also by several distinct Articles provided for every thing, which he judged needful for the maintenance of Peace and Tranquility in his Kingdom, and to diminish the Aversion which was between those of the one and other Religion; and this, to the end that he might be in a better condition for the taking some effectual course (which he was resolved to do) to reunite those again to the Church, who upon so slight occasions had withdrawn themselves from it. And forasmuch as this Intention of the King, our said Grandfather, could not be effected, by reason of his suddain and precipitated Death; and that the Execution of the foresaid Edict was interrupted during the Minority of the late King, Our most Honoured Lord and Father, of Glorious Memory, by reason of some new Enterprises of those of the pretended Reformed Religion, whereby they gave occasion for their being deprived of several Advantages which had been granted to them, by the foresaid Edict: Notwithstanding, the King, Our said late Lord and Father, according to his wonted Clemency, granted them another Edict at* Nismes, *in the Month of* July 1629, *by means of which the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom being now again re-established, the said late King, being animated with the same Spirit and Zeal for Religion, as the King our said Grandfather was, resolved to make good*

good use of this Tranquility, by endeavouring to put this pious design in Execution, but Wars abroad, carrying on a few years after, so that from the Year 1635, to the Truce which was concluded with the Princes of Europe, in 1684. The Kingdom having been only for some short Intervals altogether free from troubles, it was not possible to do any other thing for the advantage of Religion, save only to diminish the number of places permitted for the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as well by the Interdiction of those which were found erected in prejudice to the disposal made in the said Edict, as by suppressing the mix'd Chambers of Judicature, which were composed of an equal number of Papists and Protestants, the erecting of which was only done by Provision, and to serve the present Exigency.

Whereas therefore at length it hath pleased God to grant, that Our Subjects enjoying a perfect Peace, and We Our selves being no longer taken up with the cares of protecting them against our Enemies, are now in a condition to make good use of the said Truce, which we have on purpose facilitated, in order to the applying our selves intirely in the searching out of means, which might successfully effect and accomplish the design of the Kings, our said Grandfather and Father, and which also have been our intention ever since we came to the Crown; we see at present (not without a just acknowledgment of what we owe to God on that account) that our endeavours have attain'd the end we proposed to Our selves, forasmuch as the greater and better part of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion have already embraced the Catholick, and since by means thereof, the Execution of the Edict of Nantes, and of all other Ordinances in favour of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, is made useless, we judge that we can do nothing better towards the entire effacing of the Memory of those Troubles, Confusion and Mischief, which the Progress of that false Religion, hath been the cause of in Our Kingdom, and which have given occasion to the said Edict, and to so many other Edicts and Declarations which went before it, or were made since with reference thereto, than by a total Revocation of the said Edict of Nantes, and the particular Articles and Concessions granted therein, and whatsoever else hath been Enacted since in favour of the said Religion.

We make known, that We, for these and other Reasons us thereto moving, and of our certain Knowledg, full Power and Royal Authority, have by the present perpetual and irrevocable Edict, Suppress'd and Annull'd

Annull'd, do ſuppreſs and annul the Edict of the King, our ſaid Grand father, given at Nantes *in* April, 1598 *in its whole extent, together with the particular Articles ratified the Second of* May, *next following, and Letters Patent granted thereupon; as likewiſe the Edict given at* Niſmes, *in* July 1629. *declaring them null and void, as if they had never been Enacted, together with all the Conceſſions granted in them, as well as other Declarations, Edicts, and Arreſts, to thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, of what Nature ſoever they may be, which ſhall all continue as if they never had been. And in purſuance hereof, we Will, and it is our Pleaſure, that all the Churches of thoſe of the Pretended Reformed Religion, ſcituate in our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Dominions belonging to us, be forthwith demoliſhed.*

II.

We forbid our Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to Aſſemble themſelves, for time to come, in order to the Exerciſe of their Religion, in any Place or Houſe under what Pretext ſoever, whether the ſaid places have been granted by the Crown, or permitted by the Judges of particular Places; any Arreſts of our Council, for Authorizing and Eſtabliſhing of the ſaid places for Exerciſe, notwithſtanding.

III.

We likewiſe prohibit all Lords, of what condition ſoever they may be, to have any publick Exerciſe in their Houſes and Fiefs, of what quality ſoever the ſaid Fiefs may be, upon Penalty to all our ſaid Subjects, who ſhall have the ſaid Exerciſes performed in their Houſes or otherwiſe, of Confiſcation of Body and Goods.

IV.

We do ſtrictly Charge and Command all Miniſters of the ſaid Pretended Reformed Religion, who are not willing to be Converted, and to embrace the Catholick Apoſtolick *and* Roman Religion, *to depart out of our Kingdom and Countries under our Obedience,* fifteen days *after the Publication hereof, ſo as not to continue there beyond the ſaid term, or within the ſame, to Preach, Exhort, or perform any other Miniſterial Function, upon pain of being ſent to the Galleys.*

V.

Our Will and Pleasure is, that those Ministers who shall be converted, do continue to enjoy, during their Lives, and their Widows after their decease, so long as they continue so, the same Exemptions from Payments and Quartering of Souldiers, which they did enjoy during the time of their Exercise of the Ministerial Function. Moreover we will cause to be paid to the said Ministers, during their Lives a Pension, which by a third Part shall exceed the appointed Allowance to them as Ministers; the half of which Pension shall be continued to their Wives, after their Decease, as long as they shall continue in the state of Widdow hood.

VI.

And in case any of the said Ministers shall be willing to become Advocates, or to take the Degree of Doctors in Law, we will and Understand that they be dispensed with, as to the three Years of Study, which are prescribed by our Declarations, as requisite, in order to the taking of the said Degree, and that after they have passed the ordinary Examinations, they be forthwith received as Doctors, paying only the Moyty of those dues which are usually paid upon that account in every University.

VII.

We prohibit any particular Schools for instructing the Children of those of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and in general all other things whatsoever, which may import a Connivance of what kind soever, in favour of the said Religion.

VIII.

And as to the Children which shall for the future be born of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, *Our Will and Pleasure is, that henceforward they be baptized by the Curates of our Parishes, strictly charging their respective Fathers and Mothers to take care they be sent to Church in order thereto, upon Forfeiture of* 500 Livres *or more, as it shall happen. Furthermore, Our Will is, that the said Children be afterwards educated and brought up in the* Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Religion, *and give an express Charge to all Our Justices, to take care the same be performed accordingly.*

IX. *And*

IX.

And for a Mark of our Clemency towards those of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who have retired themselves out of our Kingdom, Countries and Territories, before the Publication of this our present Edict, our Will and Meaning is, that in case they return thither again, within the time of four Months, from the time of the Publication hereof they may, and it shall be Lawful for them, to Re-enter upon the Possession of their Goods and Estates, and enjoy the same in like manner, as they might have done in case they had always continued upon the place. And on the contrary, that the Goods of all those, who within the said time of four Months, shall not return into our Kingdom, Countries or Territories, under our Obedience, which they have forsaken, remain and be Confiscated in pursuance of our Declaration of the 20th. of August *last.*

X.

We most expressly and strictly forbid all our Subjects of the said pretended Reformed Religion, them, their Wives or Children, to depart out of our said Kingdom, Countries, or Territories under our Obedience, or to Transport thence their Goods or Effects, upon penalty of the Galley for Men, and of Confiscation of Body and Goods for Women.

XI.

Our Will and Meaning is, that the Declarations made against those who shall relapse, be Executed upon them according to their Form and Tenor.

Moreover, those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, in the mean time, till it shall please God to enlighten them, as well as others, may abide in the several respective Cities and Places of our Kingdom, Countries and Territories under our Obedience, and there continue their Commerce, and enjoy their Goods and Estates, without being any way molested upon account of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, upon condition nevertheless, as aforementioned, that they do not use any publick Religious Exercise, nor assemble themselves upon the account of Prayer or Worship of the said Religion, of what kind soever the same may be, upon forfeiture above specified of Body and Goods.

Accordingly

Accordingly, We Will and Command our Trusty and Beloved Counsellors, the People holding our Courts of Aids at Paris, *Bayliffs, Chief Justices, Provosts, and other our Justices and Officers to whom it appertains, and to their Lieutenants, that they cause to be Read, Published and Registred, this Our present Edict in their Courts and Jurisdictions, even in vacation time, and the same keep punctually, without contravening or suffering the same to be contravened; for such is Our Will and Pleasure. And to the end to make it a thing firm and stable, we have caused our Seal to be put to the same. Given at* Fountainbleau *in the Month of* October, *in the Year of Grace* 1685, *and of Our Reign the* 43.

Signed

LEWES.

This signifies the Lord Chancellors perusal. } VISA.

Le Tellier.

Sealed with the Great Seal of Green-Wax, upon a Red and Green string of Silk.

Registred and Published, the Kings Procurator or Attorney General, requiring it, in order to their being Executed according to Form and Tenor, and the Copies being Examined and Compared, sent to the several Courts of Justice, Bailywicks, and Sheriffs Courts of each District, to be there entred and Registred in like manner, and charge given to the Deputies of the said Attorney General, to take care to see the same Executed and put in Force, and to certifie the Court thereof. At Paris *in the Court of* Vacations *the* 22*d. of* October, 1685.

Signed

De la Baune.

The

The Profeſſion of the Catholick, Apoſtolick, and Roman Faith, *which the Revolting* Proteſtants *in* France *are to Subſcribe and Swear to.*

IN the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, Amen. *I Believe and Confeſs with a firm Faith, all and every thing and things contained in the Creed which is uſed by the Holy Church of* Rome, *viz. I receive and embrace moſt ſincerely the Apoſtolick and Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, and other Obſervances of the ſaid Church. In like manner I receive the Scriptures, but in the ſame ſenſe as the ſaid Mother Church hath, and doth now underſtand and expound the ſame, for whom and to whom it only doth belong to judge of the Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures; and I will never take them, nor underſtand them otherwiſe than according to the unanimous conſent of the Fathers.*

I profeſs that there be truly and properly ſeven Sacraments of the New Law, inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and neceſſary for the Salvation of Mankind, altho not equally needful for every one, viz. *Baptiſm,* Confirmation, *the* Euchariſt, *Penance,* Extream Unction, Orders *and* Marriage; *and that they do confer Grace; and that* Baptiſm *and* Orders *may not be reiterated without Sacrilege: I receive and admit alſo the Ceremonies received and approved by the Catholick Church in the ſolemn adminiſtration of the forementioned Sacraments.*

I receive and embrace all and every thing and things which have been determined concerning Original Sin and Juſtification by the holy Council of Trent.

I likewiſe profeſs, that in the Maſs *there is offered up to God, a true, proper, and propitiatory Sacrifice for the Living and Dead; and that in the Holy Sacrament of the* Euchariſt, *there is* truly, really and ſubſtantially, the Body and Blood, together with the Soul and Divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; *and that in it there is made a change of the whole ſubſtance of the Bread into his Body, and of the whole ſubſtance of the Wine into his Blood, which change the Catholick Church calls* Tranſubſtantiation. *I confeſs alſo, that under one only of theſe two Elements, whole Chriſt and the true Sacrament is received.*

I conſtantly believe and affirm, that there is a Purgatory, and that the Souls there detained, are relieved by the Suffrages of the Faithful.

In like manner, I believe that the Saints reigning in Glory with Jeſus Chriſt,

Christ, are to be worshipped and invocated by us, and that they offer up Prayers to God for us, and that their Reliques ought to be honoured.

Moreover, I do most stedfastly avow, that the Images of Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Virgin the Mother of God, and of other Saints, ought to be kept and retained, and that due Honour and Veneration must be yielded unto them.

Also I do affirm, that the power of Indulgence was left to the Church by Christ Jesus, and that the use thereof is very beneficial to Christians.

I do acknowledg the holy Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church, to be the Mother and Mistress of all other Churches; and I profess and swear true obedience to the Pope of Rome, *Successor of the Blessed* St. Peter, *Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Jesus Christ.*

In like manner I own and profess, without doubting, all other things left defined and declared by the Holy Canons and General Councils, especially by the most holy Council of Trent; *and withal, I do condemn, reject, and hold for accursed, all things that are contrary thereto; and all those Heresies which have been condemned, rejected, and accursed by the Church.*

And then swearing upon the Book of the Gospel, the Party recanting must say: I promise, vow and swear, and most constantly profess, by God's assistance, to keep intirely and inviolably, unto death, this self same *Catholick and Apostolick Faith, out of which no person can be saved*; and this I do most truly and willingly profess, and that I will to the utmost of my Power, endeavour that it may be maintained and upheld as far as any ways belong to my charge; so help me God and the holy Virgin.

The Certificate which the Party Recanting is to leave with the Priest, before whom he makes his Abjuration.

I N. N. of the Parish of N. do Certifie all whom it may Concern, That having acknowledged the Falseness of the pretended Reformed, and the Truth of the Catholick Religion, of my own Free-will, without any Compulsion, I have accordingly made Profession of the faith Catholick and Roman Religion in the Church of N. in the hands of N. N. In Testimony of the Truth whereof, I have signed this Act in the presence of the Witnesses, whose Names are under written, this ..... day of the Month of the ..... year of the Reign of our Soveraign Lord the King, and of our Redemption .....

FINIS.